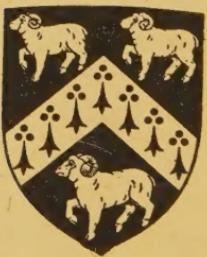


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RISE AND PROGRESS OF
SCOTTISH EDUCATION

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RISE AND PROGRESS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

BY

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PREFACE

IN this book I have endeavoured to give a short and fairly comprehensive account of the origin and growth of Scottish education in all its forms, and of the successive steps by which the national system, as we find it to-day, has been evolved. I have tried to make the work purely historical, a record of facts based as far as possible on documentary evidence and official Reports, and free from speculation or personal opinion. The progress of education in Scotland is a subject of some interest to other countries, for the problems of education in whatever guise they present themselves are everywhere fundamentally the same. The Scottish system has an individuality of its own, and it has been developed along its own historic lines. A study of it shows that the dominant policy of the Scottish Church, both before and after the Reformation, that education should be continuous from the Primary School to the University, and should be available to all, is operative in Scotland to-day. The ideals underlying that policy have for centuries been in the life-blood of the people, and the latest Education Acts are but attempts to translate them into action. They have moulded the mind and character of the people, and it is generally acknowledged that they have evolved a system of education that is one of Scotland's most valuable contributions to the Empire of which she is a part and to the world.

I desire to acknowledge the kindness of the Editors of *The Hibbert Journal*, *The Times Educational Supplement*,

The Scotsman, and *The Scottish Educational Journal* in granting me permission to incorporate portions of articles contributed by me to their columns.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Godfrey H. Thomson of Edinburgh University and Professor Wm. M'Clelland of St Andrews University for reading the book in manuscript, and making most helpful suggestions in connection with it.

In preparing the book for the Press and revising the proof sheets I have received invaluable assistance from Mr George A. Burnett, Glasgow, and from Mr J. B. Clark and Dr Archibald Milne, Edinburgh.

ALEX. MORGAN.

EDINBURGH, *September* 1927.

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RISE AND PROGRESS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN CELTIC SCOTLAND

WHEREVER men live in groups, however primitive, education of some kind is always going on—the struggle for existence and association with their fellow-men ensure that. Education is an inseparable part of the life of a people, and as such it cannot be static, it must change to meet the constantly altering social situation and the growing needs of the community. Progress in education, experience everywhere has shown, is not by alternate destructions and reconstructions, but by a continuous growth of old into new and better forms. Evolution, which rules organic life with irresistible sway, has in education its highest authorisation, and any attempts to violate it by short-cuts or arbitrary codes or regulations bring their own reward. In accordance with it we can trace the growth of educational systems throughout the world from their beginnings in China, India, Egypt, Judæa, Greece, Italy, through the scholasticism of Europe in the Middle Ages, to the modern period dating from the Renaissance to the present day. The same process of evolution can be traced in the educational systems of individual countries, and in Scotland there has been a continuous but unsteady development in national education, the great educators of each age receiving their ideas from those who preceded them, and handing them on with such modifications as they have been able to stamp upon them. Hence to understand aright the present

position in Scottish education, with all its intricacy and marked individuality, it is necessary to have at least some knowledge of the past.

The beginnings in Scotland of a national system of education date pretty definitely from the sixth century, when the first band of Christian missionaries landed on its western shores. It was in 563 that the saintly Columba, with twelve fellow-monks and followers, crossed in his wicker hide-covered boats from Ireland to Iona.¹ What precisely led to his coming we can only conjecture. We know that Ireland had enjoyed for long the benefits of religion and education while Scotland was still in the bonds of paganism and ignorance, and a desire to carry these blessings to the country he saw over the seas may have led him to our shores. Probably he chose the little islet of Iona because it was conveniently situated for keeping in touch with his native land, and also for carrying on the work he had in view in North Britain or Scotland.²

Columba, already one of the most famous ecclesiastics in Ireland, was in his forty-second year when he undertook

¹ The island at that time bore the name of Ia or Hii, and Dr Reeves, the learned editor of Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, shows pretty conclusively that the name Iona has arisen from a misprint by some scribe for Ioua, the adjectival form used by Adamnan from the root Iou, and that the name does not come, as some have conjectured, from *I shona*, the sacred isle (see W. F. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 86, edition 1887).

² What follows may be better understood if it is explained that in the time of Columba what is now called Scotland was divided into four independent kingdoms. (1) North Pictland, including the country north of the Grampians, that is, the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, and as far north as Orkney and Shetland. (2) Southern Pictland, between the Grampians and the Firth of Forth, and corresponding to the counties of Kincardine, Forfar, Fife, and Perth. (3) Dalriada, corresponding roughly to Argyllshire, and possessed by Scots who had found a footing from Ireland. (4) Strathclyde, stretching south-eastwards from Loch Lomond along the valley of the Clyde, and having Alclyde, now Dumbarton, as its

the great enterprise. He was a notable personage in Ireland, for, in addition to royal descent from the kings of his own country and of Dalriada, he was renowned for his learning and piety, and had done a great work in Ireland in extending the system of monasteries, and making better provision for the religious and secular instruction of the people. In Scotland he set himself to the same tasks.

The history of Scotland prior to the landing of Columba is wrapt in considerable uncertainty owing to the absence of reliable contemporary records. But now the darkness began to dispel. Quite a number of accounts—probably a dozen or more—were written by disciples and friends of Columba, but none of them have come down to us except those of Cummian and Adamnan¹—respectively the seventh and eighth abbots of Iona after Columba. As the former wrote the biography fifty years and the latter eighty years after the death of Columba, they were able to give first-hand information regarding his life and character. Though the biographies, written in good

capital. The country east of Strathclyde and south of the Forth formed part of the Kingdom of Northumbria in England. The name Scotia was at that time applied to Ireland, and only came to be applied to North Britain when the Northern and Southern Picts and the Scots of Dalriada were united in 844 under one king, Kenneth McAlpine, King of Dalriada. Whence or when the Picts found their way into Scotland is not definitely known. They were mainly of Celtic origin, related to the Celts of Ireland and Isle of Man on the one hand, and to the Celts of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany on the other.

¹ Adamnan was abbot of Iona from 679 till his death in 704, and, next to the great founder, was the most outstanding personality associated with the island monastery. He wrote, as we have said, a *Life of St Columba*, which is not only of great interest but is the most reliable source of information regarding the social condition of Scotland in this important period of its history. The manuscript was discovered only in 1845 in a chest in Schaffhausen, Switzerland, having doubtless been deposited there by some wandering monk and then forgotten.

Latin, are coloured by the credulity of the time regarding visions, prophecies, and miracles, they were the work of accomplished scholars who were resolved, as Adamnan says, to tell "nothing that is untrue or doubtful regarding a great man."

About two years were spent in completing the buildings forming the monastery—simple structures whose walls and roofs were made of wands woven on stakes and afterwards plastered over with clay, the whole cluster of buildings being surrounded by a vallum or rampart composed of earth or a mixture of earth and stones. Such being their material, none of the original buildings have survived, the present ruins being the remains of stone buildings of a much later date.

The duties of the monks composing the *familia* or community of brethren had next to be arranged. The monks were divided into three classes. First there were the *seniores*, the brethren of mature age and proved devotion, whose chief duty it was to attend to the round of religious services of the church, and to read and transcribe the Scriptures. Those who were stronger and fitter for manual work were the *operarii fratres*, or working brethren. These formed the largest class, and attended to the duties connected with the physical wants of the community, such as agriculture and husbandry, preparation of food, and the making of clothing and other articles. The third class were the *alumni* or novices under instruction for the religious life. The dress of the monks consisted of a white garment—the *tunica*—over which was worn a *camilla* or cloak and hood of undyed wool. When working or walking the monks wore sandals, which they usually removed when sitting down to meals.

At the head of the community was the abbot, Columba himself, to whom all members were bound by their monastic

vows to yield implicit obedience as their holy father. While wielding supreme authority, he shared the labours of all sections of the community, even carrying his portion of corn to the mill to be ground. He set an example of ascetic self-denial and devotion to religious duty. At any hour of the day or night he might summon the brethren to church by the sound of a bell, and address them from the altar.

Such, in brief, was the monastic system established by Columba in Iona, and taken as a model by all monasteries subsequently instituted by himself or his disciples throughout the country. The system is highly important from the educational point of view, because it was the type of early Christian culture which did so much for centuries to mould the intelligence and character of the Scottish people.

After about two years, as we have said, spent in this way, Columba began to turn his attention to the pagan tribes inhabiting the neighbouring districts of the mainland. To the east of Iona and Mull was the great heathen nation of the Northern Picts, governed at that time by King Brude. Columba, with one or two companions, crossed the great mountain barriers intersecting that territory, and made his way to Brude's palace on the banks of the Ness, not far from Inverness. The king at first refused to open his gates, but, according to Adamnan, Columba "approached the folding-doors with his companions, and, having first made upon them the sign of the Cross, he knocked at and laid his hand upon the gate, which instantly flew open of its own accord, the bolts having been driven back with great force. The Saint and his companions then passed through the gate thus speedily opened." After some further displays of Columba's thaumaturgic power in contest with the druids or native priests, Adamnan tells us that "ever after that day, as long as he lived, the king held this holy and reverend man

in very great honour, as was due." Columba seems to have made a stay of some duration among the Picts, and King Brude and many of his followers became converts to Christianity. The work spread, and in the course of a few years the inhabitants not only of Northern but also of Southern Pictland were converted to the Christian faith, monasteries were established in many places, and churches were erected in considerable numbers throughout the land.

The effects of the conversion of the Picts were of a far-reaching character. For one thing, the union of the peoples of the two Pictish kingdoms and the Scots of Dalriada in a common faith made, in course of time, a united Scottish nation possible. Equally important were the educational results. The new faith was uncontestedly better than the old pagan nature-worship, and elevated the whole national mind and character. It brought Scotland, moreover, into intimate relationship with Ireland, whose more advanced civilisation and education reacted with the utmost benefit on the Scottish people. But most important of all was the educational work carried on by the monasteries themselves. We have records of monasteries having been founded by Columba or his disciples in such widely scattered places as St Andrews, Kirkcaldy, Inchcolm (Firth of Forth), Abercorn, Abernethy, Dunkeld, Mortlach, Clova, Muthill, Monymusk, Deer, Turriff, Aberdour (Banffshire), Rosemarkie, Dornoch, Kildonan; and in Skye, Tiree, and elsewhere in the western isles. His biographer truly speaks of Columba as *monasteriorum pater et fundator*. Those offshoots regarded Iona as the mother-church to whose behests they owed obedience. Like it, they were all educational seminaries as well as religious communities, and they made the only provision of the time for the pursuit of learning. Youths were sent to them not only to be trained as monks but to receive a general education.

St Columba himself set the example of a most studious life. Adamnan says of him that he "wished his usefulness to man to be commensurate with the moments of his life," and that "he never could spend one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation." He was deeply versed in all the scholarship of his day, and hymns written by him in Latin and Gaelic have come down to us, but of most of his writings only the names remain. It was not, however, by the influence of his piety and learning, but by his teaching the use of letters and establishing seminaries of education throughout the land that Columba did the greatest service to Scotland. Without them the example of his life and his other labours would have produced only a passing effect. Considering the magnitude of the educational work he accomplished in his lifetime, and the influence it has exerted on succeeding generations, we must regard St Columba as one of the master minds and creative spirits of his age, and the first of the line of great Scottish educators. By the schools he established up and down the country of his adoption he laid the foundation of its national system of education. Scotsmen have good reason to hold the name of this great apostle from Ireland in grateful remembrance, and to assign to him one of the highest places in the annals of their country.

After the death of Columba his disciples devoted themselves more and more to their work in education, and for many generations Iona supplied not only Scotland but other countries with learned and pious teachers. As Odonellus, a sixteenth-century Irish biographer of St Columba, said: "From this nest of Columba these sacred doves took their flight to all quarters, and disseminated their piety and learning." The reputation of Iona and the other Columban monasteries in Scotland attracted youths from England and Ireland, and even from the continent, to receive a general

education and to study the doctrines of the Columban Church. In addition to other subjects, they were taught Latin and probably Greek, and they studied the sacred manuscripts, and committed the Psalms to memory. Writing was a difficult and specialised art in those early days, but some of the students were taught to transcribe the Scriptures on parchment as well as on waxed tablets, and extant specimens ascribed to the monks of this period show considerable skill and artistic taste.¹

As the educational work developed, special functionaries began to make their appearance. In the century after Columba's death we read of an official in certain of the monasteries called in Irish *Scribhnidh*, or scribe (L. *scriba*). He was a monk selected because of his learning, and it was his duty to transcribe and preserve the ancient records of the monastery, and at the same time to act as a teacher or lecturer. Several of the MSS. compiled by these scribes have come down to us, and they are worthy monuments of their industry and skill. In the course of a century the scribe was gradually superseded by another official, the *Ferleiginn*, lector or man of learning. Ferleys seem to have been fairly common, and we read of them at Iona, Deer, Turriff, St Andrews, and other places. Their duties were almost wholly concerned with teaching and lecturing. They seem to have been officials of great dignity and power, and held a position in the Celtic Church corresponding to that of the Chancellor in the Church of a later date.² The lowest grade of the teaching order in the Columban Church was the *Scoloc*, or scholar (L. *scholasticus*). We read of scolocs at Ellon, St Andrews, Arbuthnot, and elsewhere.

¹ Mackinnon's *Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 168.

² Mr Joseph Robertson says: "What the Chancellor became in the English and Scoto-English Churches from about the twelfth century, the ferleiginn seems to have been in the Irish and Scoto-Irish Churches of an earlier age" (*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v., p. 56).

They were officials who, while still undergoing education and training for the full service of the Church, performed educational duties assigned to them, as well as manual tasks such as husbandry.

The introduction of these three grades of scholastic monks showed that the Church was becoming more and more conscious of its cultural and educational mission. For centuries they ensured for every child, who received any education at all, the benefit of being taught by monks of his own country. Through the influence of these monks the confusing varieties of the vernacular were merged into one spoken dialect akin to the cultivated language of Ireland, and also a literature and written language began to appear. To the same influence, too, we owe it that, towards the twelfth century, the name of Scotia was gradually transferred from Ireland to Scotland, taking the place of the older name Alban, and the name Scotic or Scotch was applied to the Gaelic language of Scotland.

But gradually the form of Christianity brought by Columba from Ireland to Scotland was displaced by the religion of Rome, and the change had far-reaching educational consequences. The doctrinal system of the Scottish Church was of course that of the parent church in Ireland. It differed in many respects from that of the Church of Rome, claiming to follow the Scriptures more closely, and "to receive nought but the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles." It had its own forms of worship and its own system of monastic rules. It differed from Rome in the date of the Easter festival, and in the form of the tonsures of the monks. The two monastic churches, in short, differed so widely in doctrine and observances that they were bound sooner or later to come into collision.

The conflict was not long delayed. In the very year that St Columba died (597), St Augustine with a band of

missionaries arrived in Kent as emissaries of the Church of Rome. Their teaching spread northwards till it reached districts where Columban doctrines prevailed. The contest between the rival forms of Christianity lasted for a considerable time, but it could only have one result. A church relatively poor, small in numbers, and ruled from a remote island could not prevail against the resources and missionary power of the Church of Rome. Besides, England had already gone over to the Roman faith, and this hastened a similar movement in Scotland. The marriage in 1069 of the Scottish King, Malcolm Canmore, to such a devoted Roman Catholic as Princess Margaret of England helped to complete the conversion of Scotland to the Roman faith.

In the ecclesiastical struggle to which we have referred, the Columban Church was weakened by repeated Norwegian and Danish invasions which devastated the western isles and the neighbouring districts of the mainland, killed or dispersed the abbots and monks, and destroyed many of the monasteries. These things synchronised with a period of internal decay of the early Church and other Celtic institutions. Founded as they were on the narrow tribal¹ grouping of society, they were inadequate to meet the growing needs of the people. Society everywhere in Western Europe was moulding itself on the larger pattern of the feudal system, and the religious organisation of the Church of Rome.

For some three or four centuries during and after the struggle between the rival Christian churches on the one hand, and the paganism of the native races on the other, we know very little that is authentic regarding the social and educational condition of the country. A period of darkness set in, for there seems to have been no Adamnan

¹ Owing to the tribal law of ecclesiastical succession the property of the Celtic Columban monasteries became gradually alienated and secularised, and the institutions thus impoverished were allowed in many cases to fall into decay (p. 20).

and no Bede¹ to record the passing events. Reliable data are meagre in the extreme, and are to be found mainly in such records as *The Book of the Monastery of Deer*² in Aberdeenshire, and parts of a Register of St Andrews that have come down to us.

¹ Baeda (672-735) or Bede (commonly called "the Venerable Bede") was a priest of the Roman Catholic monastery of Wearmouth in Northumbria. He was one of the most learned men of his time, and was the author of many works chiefly on science or theology or history. His great work is *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, and from it he has been justly called the Father of English History. Because of its clear and interesting style, its sense of proportion, and its unusual care in collecting and sifting information, it is considered a model of historical writing. He wrote a number of educational works, such as a treatise on Latin prosody, a collection of riddles in Latin verse to interest young pupils, treatises on grammar, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and an introduction to natural philosophy—*De Natura Rerum*. His writings show marvellous scholarship, and through them he made available to his students practically all the learning of Western Europe known in his day. We see the intellectual advance made by the Roman over the Columban Church if we compare the learning and writings of Bede with those of Adamnan with their unlettered simplicity and childlike belief in the miraculous. Bede was born only some fifty years after Adamnan, but he is centuries ahead of him in scholarship and intellectual outlook.

² *The Book of Deer* is a manuscript written by some unknown monks of this Aberdeenshire monastery. It has been published by the Spalding Club, and Dr John Stuart, who edited it, believes that it belongs to the twelfth century. It consists of portions of the four gospels in Latin. There are some marginal notes in Gaelic, and occasional references to contemporary life and events which are valuable to the historian. It is in two handwritings—one detailing events which show that the monastery retained its Celtic character down to the early years of the reign of David I., and the other dealing with the conversion of the monastery to Rome and its dedication to St Peter. The ruins of this ancient Abbey and the ground adjoining were acquired in 1926 by the Roman Catholic authorities for the purpose of preserving the remains of what in the Middle Ages was an active and important centre of religious life. This Abbey, in the vale of Deer, was founded and endowed by William Comyn, Great Justiciary of Scotland, in 1218 or 1219. The Abbot of Deer was a mitred Abbot, and had a seat in the Scottish Parliament.

That the change from the Columban to the Roman Church was, on the whole, beneficial to education in Scotland we cannot doubt. It raised the country to a higher plane of civilisation, and stimulated the movement towards national unity. Zealous though the monks from Iona were for the cause of education, they could hardly compete with workers no less zealous and having all the artistic refinements, learning, and educational resources of Italy at their command. While we have no contemporary account of education in Scotland at this period, we have a vivid description by Bede of education just across the border, which may give some idea of the extent and nature of the teaching done at this time by the Roman Church in Scotland. Speaking of the work of two monks, Theodore and Hadrian, in establishing schools in Northumbria and attracting thither crowds of eager students, Bede says: "Forasmuch as both of them were well read in sacred and secular learning, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of wholesome knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers. Besides the books of Holy Writ, they also taught them the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic. A testimony whereof is that there are still living at this day some of their scholars who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own in which they were born. Nor were there ever happier times since the English came into Britain; for having brave Christian kings, they were a terror to all barbarous nations; and the minds of all men were bent upon the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had but lately heard; and all who desired to be instructed in sacred study had masters at hand to teach them."¹

Thus the Church of Rome completely overcame the native Church, and for some five centuries it spread the

¹ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. iv., chap. II.

influence of its religious and educational system into even the remotest corners of Scotland, to which all the military power of Imperial Rome had never been able to penetrate.

In addition to these specific agencies for education in Celtic Scotland, there were informal agencies in some respects hardly less important. In all countries inhabited by the Celts, such as Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, bards played a distinctive part as teachers of the people. Long before there were books or written records of the thoughts and deeds of the race, these bards went amongst the people reciting in simple verse a kind of epic history of famous victories and great achievements, of the laws and religious ideas of the tribe or clan, and of the family histories of the great men of past and present times. They chanted their lays in lordly halls and in assemblies of the common people, and exerted a powerful influence on the thoughts and lives of the nation. They handed down the legendary poems, histories, and genealogies from age to age, to be embodied in the written chronicles and records of later days. When the information thus derived is examined and sifted by the methods of modern research it is of real historical value, and not a little of the domestic history of early Scotland has been constructed in this way.

Thus in Celtic times the bards deserve to share with the Columban monks the honour of being the first teachers of the Scottish people. The former gave expression to the national sentiments and the aspirations of the people, and supplied the natural and humanistic element in popular education, while the latter supplied the intellectual, spiritual, and æsthetic element. The influence of the one was complementary to that of the other, and both were necessary for the development of early Scottish education.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC SCOTLAND

THE change from the native Celtic to the Roman Church, and the introduction of a new order of monks into Scotland, had effects of the utmost importance on education. The educational institutions of Columban foundation which survived were taken over and continued by the Roman Church. In many cases the humble buildings of the native Church gave place to stately religious edifices which lasted till Reformation times, and exist in some instances as noble ruins of monasteries and cathedrals to-day, as in St Andrews, Dunfermline, Culross, Abernethy, Scone, Dunblane, Brechin, and other places. Even in their ruin they are an educative influence in the land. Many new monasteries were established during this period to be, like the others, centres of educational as well as religious influence. Through those changes the system of education which we traced in the preceding chapter was merged into the much larger system having its centre in Rome. What had been native or national tended to become Catholic and European in type, for it was the policy of the Roman Church to bring about solidarity, if not uniformity, in the educational systems of the whole of western Christendom. There were some compensations to Scotland for the loss, for a time at least, of her educational individuality, for the change brought her limited native culture into living contact with all that was best at the time in European learning. She recovered her national system at the Reformation, but the influences to

which we have just referred had a permanent, and on the whole a beneficial, effect on Scottish education.

Till the advent of the Roman Church information regarding the educational conditions, and the social and even the ecclesiastical life of Scotland, is meagre. But from the beginning of the twelfth century we have the aid of reliable contemporary documents. Every monastery seems to have kept three kinds of official record. There was first a Register of the inmates and a chronicle of the daily life of the monastery; next an Obit Book, recording the deaths of kings, nobles, and officials and benefactors of the monastery or abbey; and, most important of all, a Cartulary, containing copies of the charters granted to the monastery by the kings or territorial superiors, of papal bulls affecting the monastery, and details regarding the general administration of the establishment. Many of these records were destroyed in Hertford's invasion and the troublous times that preceded the Reformation, but fortunately many of them survived the attacks on the religious houses and have come down to us, such as the Register of Arbroath, the Book of Paisley, the Book of Dunfermline, the Book of Deer, and the Cartulary of St Andrews. Several of them have been printed and edited by learned societies, such as the Spalding, Bannatyne, and Maitland Clubs, and they form the most valuable and authentic sources of information to students of this important period of Scottish history.

The influence of Malcolm Canmore's consort, Queen Margaret, and her sons Edgar, Alexander, and David, each of whom in turn became King of Scotland, is worthy of special note in the history of Scottish education. They built upon what remained of the Columban religious and educational system, they restored old monasteries, they founded and wholly or partially endowed many new ones,

which continued and extended the work of the native Church, and kept alive the old interest in learning and education. All chroniclers of the time bear testimony to the beautiful character of Queen Margaret, her personal piety, generosity, and complete devotion to duty and good works. A contemporary writer says of her: "Among other good deeds of this illustrious lady, she restored the monastery of Iona, which Columba, the servant of Christ, erected in the time of Brude, King of the Picts. It had fallen into ruin in the storms of war and the lapse of ages, but this faithful queen rebuilt it, and furnished it with monks and with an endowment for performing the Lord's work." That was about the year 1072. Among other benefactions to the Church she founded the Abbey of Dunfermline, and indeed by her zeal she did more than any other individual up to that date to complete the assimilation of the native with the Roman Church.

Edgar (1097-1107) restored Coldingham Abbey, and made a gift of Ardmore and its revenues to the Culdees¹ of the island of Lochleven—the only surviving remnants of the Columban monks, soon to be absorbed like the others into the Roman system. Alexander I. (1107-24) founded and endowed the monasteries of Scone and Inchcolm, and created the new dioceses of Dunkeld and Moray. David I. (1124-53) founded the monastery of Selkirk and afterwards transferred it to Kelso. He founded also the Abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss, some of these being, however, restorations of former buildings. David's gifts to the Church, indeed, made such inroads on the income of himself and his successors that James I. wittily called him "a sair sanct to the croun." By the extent of the changes he effected in the religious life of the country he made the

¹ See Article "Culdees," *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Church of Rome definitely the national Church of Scotland, and such it remained for over four centuries.

The monasteries, abbeys, priories, and convents of the Roman Catholic Church were centres of secular as well as religious education. They had schools within their precincts as part of their ordinary organisation, and they maintained and controlled many schools in the neighbouring burghs, and even in towns and parishes in more distant parts.

As examples of schools within the abbeys and under the superintendence of the abbots, we may mention the cloistral schools at Dunfermline, Arbroath, Cambuskenneth, Paisley, Melrose, and Kinloss. Perhaps the most famous of these was the grammar school founded in 1124 within the Abbey of Dunfermline, which attained a considerable reputation until it was destroyed along with the Abbey in the Reformation disturbances in March 1560. While the abbey schools had as their primary aim the education of young aspirants for the Church as the one learned profession of the time, we have evidence that they were attended by sons of the wealthier classes who were being given an intellectual as well as a religious education, such as would fit them for the service of their country in any capacity required of them.

When an abbey was located in or near a town, or, as was common, when a town sprang up under the sheltering wing of an abbey, the demand for education among the inhabitants in many cases necessitated the founding of a school by the abbey in the town itself, to be taught at first by monks set apart by the abbey for this purpose, and latterly by special masters appointed by the abbot. We have reliable information that schools, founded and fostered by the Roman Catholic Church, existed in the chief towns of Scotland from an early period,¹ and, as we shall see

¹ See pp. 1 and 2 of the *Third Report (1868) of the Royal Commission appointed in 1864 to inquire into the Schools of Scotland.*

many of them in course of time became burgh schools.¹ We have reason to believe that a grammar school at Arbroath had its origin in this way. So, too, in Edinburgh, the ancient grammar school and the Canongate school, both now non-existent, belonged to the Abbey of Holyrood, and what is now known as the Royal High School of Edinburgh was an offshoot from the cloistral school of the same abbey.² Sometimes poor but promising pupils were educated free in these outside schools. Pious donors occasionally left endowments for the purpose, and if sufficient funds were not forthcoming from this source, alms were asked by the abbey to defray the cost.

In some cases an abbey owned schools in distant towns or parishes, the schools having been either founded by the abbey or gifted to it by pious founders or benefactors. The abbot and monks of the Abbey of Lindores, for example, were granted a charter by the Bishop of the See in the reign of Alexander II. (1214-49) to found schools as well as churches in the town of Dundee, which lay within the diocese. Under these powers monks from the said abbey seem to have been set apart to teach in the town. But the first authentic notice we have of a school there occurs in the *Register of the See of Brechin* in 1434. In that year a priest, Sir Gilbert Kyncht, who had ventured to teach without the authority of the Chancellor, was summoned before the Bishop and deprived of his office.³ This Dundee school gained a considerable reputation, and, according to the metrical history of the minstrel Blind Harry, Sir William Wallace, after having been partially educated by an uncle in Stirlingshire, was sent to be trained in it:—

“In till Dundé Wallace to scule thai send,
Cuhill he of wit full worthely was kend.”

¹ Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, pp. 22, 63.

² See p. 2 of *Third Report of 1864 Commission*.

³ *Ibid.*; *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v., p. 69.

More than a century afterwards Hector Boece, the historian, who was the first Principal of Aberdeen University, was educated in this school.

Other instances, during this period, of schools at a distance from the abbeys to which they belonged are reported at such places as Haddington, Stirling, Linlithgow, Roxburghshire, Abernethy, Perth, Ayr, Lanark, Montrose, and Aberdeen. The schools of Haddington, which attained to some note as early as the fourteenth century, were under the control of the abbot of Holyrood. David I., in founding the abbey of St Mary in Kelso in 1128, gifted to it all the churches and schools in Roxburghshire and all that pertained to them,¹ and in 1180 the bishop of Glasgow ratified the gift "free and quit of custom." In the same way the churches and schools in Perth and Stirling and their pertinents were bestowed upon the Abbey of Dunfermline as part of its endowment, and in the year 1160 we find the bishop of St Andrews confirming the gift.² In 1183 Pope Lucius gifted to the Abbey of Dryburgh the schools along with other possessions in the parish of Lanark, at the same time forbidding any one to interfere with the masters in arranging the studies of the pupils provided they kept their demands within just bounds.³ Similarly, four years later, Pope Gregory VIII. handed over the churches and schools of Linlithgow to the priory of St Andrews as a partial endowment.⁴

All this evidence goes to show that the mediæval Roman Church was a great educational institution, and indeed for centuries there were no schools outside its pale. Some of the orders of monks, such as the Benedictines, forming with their

¹ *Book of St Mary of Kelso*, Bannatyne Club, No. 2, p. 5.

² *Register of Dunfermline*, No. 93, p. 56.

³ *Book of Dryburgh*, No. 194, p. 249.

⁴ *Register of the Priory of St Andrews*, p. 63.

offshoots the Carthusians and Cistercians by far the most numerous order of monks in the country, were bound by their monastic vows to devote a large part of their time to the instruction of their novitiates and the education of the young. It is inspiring to think that the noble ecclesiastical ruins that have come down to us from this period were devoted in such considerable measure to the cause of education.

The characteristic of the Celtic communal life was that under it society was organised on a tribal basis (p. 10). The same was true of the Church; it was a series of Christian communities bound together on the tribal or clan principle. It was inevitable that a time would come when such an organisation could not meet the growing needs of the people, or form an adequate basis for a truly national life. In the first half of the eleventh century there were indications of the decay of Celtic institutions, and of a movement in Scotland towards the feudal system which prevailed in England and the other countries of western Christendom. The movement was hastened by the grants of land made by the Scottish kings to Norman and Saxon nobles who came north from feudal England. Under the feudal system the land passed from tribal ownership to that of the king, and by the close of David I.'s reign the greater part of the country was held in fief by vassals great and small who looked to him as their feudal head. With the coming of feudalism the Church, too, passed from a tribal to a territorial basis, under which the country was gradually organised into a system of episcopal dioceses under the control of bishops. In the time of Edgar there was only one diocesan episcopate, namely St Andrews. Alexander added the bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld, then followed Glasgow, and David added five—Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness, and thus almost completed the chain. The important point is that with the

diocesan organisation came the parochial system. There is some difference of opinion as to the origin of the system, but the name "parish" seems to have been applied at one time to the diocese of a bishop. When this proved too large for the ministrations of one clergyman it was subdivided into districts called parishes, each under the care of a parish priest. By this organisation of its forces the Church got into touch with the people in all parts of the country, and brought them more effectively under its spiritual influence.

But we are concerned here with the educational effects of the change. Four classes of schools arose out of the diocesan and parochial organisation of the country, namely, Cathedral Schools, Collegiate Schools, Parish Schools, and Song Schools, and of these it will be necessary to give a short account.

In harmony with the general practice of the Roman Catholic Church in all lands, schools were established in connection with the Scottish cathedrals, and they were put under the control in each case of the chancellor of the cathedral. The teaching in the cathedral schools was conducted by the secular clergy (*i.e.*, clergy outwith the monastic orders), but at a later date lay teachers were introduced in increasing numbers. None were allowed to teach in the diocese without the permission of the chancellor. The position of the latter is made clear by a statute of the Cathedral of Aberdeen in 1256, which stated that "it belongs to the dignity of the chancellor's office, that he should supply a fit master who shall have the direction of the schools of Aberdeen, and know how to teach the boys in grammar as well as in logic."¹ The right of supervision of the chancellor extended even to the monastery schools within the diocese, which were under the control of the abbot only as representing the

¹ *Register of the See of Aberdeen*, ii., p. 45.

bishop. On a dispute arising, for instance, regarding the dismissal of a master of a school in Dundee, the latter appealed to the abbot who had appointed him, but the bishop claimed the right of jurisdiction through his chancellor, and the teacher was dismissed. Similar right of supervision by the chancellor was claimed, as we shall see in Chapter VI, in the case of the burgh schools founded by the town councils of a later date.

In addition to the cathedrals there were local or collegiate churches founded for the stricter observance of divine service, and for the saying of masses for the souls of founders, patrons, and their friends. There were thirty-three of these churches in Scotland, and all of them supported schools managed by the provosts of the churches. These collegiate schools belong to the later period of Roman Catholic rule, and, while they played a less important part in the intellectual life of the country than the monastery and cathedral schools, they did a good work just at the time when the other educational influences were tending to wane. There was a school of this kind instituted in connection with St Giles, Edinburgh, about 1496, to which Dunbar refers as

“Your stinkand scule that standis dirk
Haddis the lycht fra your parish Kirk.”

As other examples of collegiate schools we shall only mention the grammar schools at Linlithgow, Crail, and Biggar, the first taught by the famous scholar Ninian Winzet, and the last founded by Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain, just fifteen years before the Reformation.

We have already referred to the division of the country into parishes under the territorial organisation of the Roman Church when the feudal system was introduced. If a church did

not exist in the parish, one was provided by the lord of the manor, who at the same time set apart for its endowment a tithe of his property. We have numerous records of these from the eleventh and twelfth century onwards. For a long time they tended to be overshadowed by the powerful abbeys and cathedrals. It was the monk rather than the parish priest who wielded the chief ecclesiastical power at this period, and in many cases prevented the parishes from receiving their due attention and from exerting the influence of which they were capable. These parish churches had schools connected with them, and sometimes the school was conducted within the precincts of the church itself. The teaching was given by the parish priest, or sometimes by a young ecclesiastical assistant, and instruction was given in at least the elements of religion and letters. Many who afterwards attained to high position in the church and in the country received their first instruction in their parish school. George Buchanan tells us that he received his early education in the parish school of Killearn, and that the education thus begun was continued in the school connected with the church of Dumbarton. There is no doubt that these parish schools from an early period exerted a considerable influence in educating and humanising the population in rural districts. Their importance was greatly extended after the Reformation, as we shall see, and the national education of Scotland was grafted with most beneficial results upon the parochial system of the pre-Reformation Church.

Music was an important feature in the religious services of the Roman Church, and for this very reason it might be expected to play an important part in the educational system of the Church. Monks and priests and choristers had to be trained to take their part in the singing of mass and matins, and in the choral service of the Church generally.

We have evidence of the existence of choirs and organs in the Scottish cathedrals at least as early as the thirteenth century. It is no doubt due to the influence of the Church that music has for centuries played such a large part in the life of the Scottish people. As Dr Cunningham, the ecclesiastical historian, has well said: "The daily cathedral service, the solemn chanting of the monks in their conventional buildings, and the way in which the Roman ritual had so beautifully blended music with almost every act of religious worship, diffused a love of it among the people. It is probable that some of those touchingly simple Scottish airs, of unknown antiquity, which give such perfect utterance to the finest feelings of the Scottish heart, may first have been sung by young men and maidens who learned from monks the concord of sweet sounds." Music, to a certain extent, was taught in the abbey, cathedral, collegiate, and parish schools, and "sang scules" for training and educating choir boys were established not only in the seats of great abbeys and cathedrals but in the leading burghs of Scotland. We read, for instance, in the statutes of the church of Aberdeen¹ of a song school there as early as the middle of the thirteenth century for "singing boys," who had to attend the services of the church on all the greater festivals and other days, and the master of the school was instructed to see to their regular attendance. In a document dated 7th October 1496 there is contained a contract between the town of Aberdeen and Robert Huchosone (Hutchison), songster, who obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and ferial days, for a salary of 24 merks annually.

¹ *Register of the See of Aberdeen* (published by the Spalding Club), vol. ii., p. 49.

The Town Council further appoint him master of their "sang scule" to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organ, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, in return for which they pay him his scholage and dues.¹

Similarly, we read of song schools at an early period in Dunfermline, Dundee, Brechin, Elgin, Kirkwall, and other places, the salary of the master and the expenses of the school being frequently paid by the burgh authorities. The teaching given in the song schools was chiefly in music, "meaners and verteu" till after the Reformation, when, under the same name, they taught in addition English, writing, and arithmetic. Some of them were converted in course of time into English schools, of which we shall speak later, but many of them retained their separate identity till the eighteenth century,² and they form one of the distinctive tributaries, albeit not a large one, of the stream of Scottish education.

The burgh schools have played an all-important part in the history of Scottish education. Many of the schools conducted by the Church in centres of population in the neighbourhood of the abbeys and cathedrals in course of time became the schools of the burghs in which they were situated. In this manner, before the end of the fifteenth century, all the principal towns in Scotland, and many that have since fallen into obscurity, had grammar schools in which the Latin language was taught. We can see the stages by which these schools would pass gradually into the hands of the burgh authorities. At first monks or secular clergy would be sent by the abbey or cathedral to conduct the instruction of the children in the town, and,

¹ *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v., p. 32.

² The present writer remembers a building in Union Street, Aberdeen, called "The Song School," as late as the seventies of the last century, although no school was then conducted in it.

to mark their gratitude for the valuable services rendered, the burgh authorities would provide in some cases the necessary accommodation. As to the remuneration of the teacher, this would be obtained in some instances from the rents of church lands set apart for the purpose, but in most cases from the common good of the burgh, or by voluntary assessments levied on the community, and from the fees and other perquisites obtained from the pupils. Thus it came about at an early period that, while the salaries of the masters and the expense of supplying and maintaining the buildings fell generally on the burghs, the appointment of the teachers and the management of the schools were retained in the hands of the Church. Naturally a time would come, especially as the Reformation approached, when the burghs would take the control of the schools more and more into their own hands and claim first to have a voice in choosing the schoolmaster, then to have a right to make the appointment, and finally to have practically the whole patronage and control of the school. This development may be better understood from one or two actual cases.

As early as 1233 we find records of a grammar school in Ayr. It gradually passed under the control of the Town Council, and according to the Burgh Records of Ayr we find the Council in 1510 paying the salary of one of the secular clergy to perform the duties of master, and in 1551 choosing and appointing the schoolmaster.

In 1489 a statute of the Chapter of Moray enacted that a school be built by the town of Elgin, and that the chancellor appoint a man fit to govern the school and instruct the pupils in grammar.¹

The burgh of Peebles supplies the earliest recorded instance of a Town Council exercising the full right of patronage and control of its school. The Burgh Records

¹ *Register of the See of Moray*, p. 57.

show that in 1464 the bailies and burgesses of Peebles appointed one Sir William Blaklok (the title is evidence that he was a churchman) schoolmaster of the burgh, the bailies undertaking the responsibility of paying him for the children he taught.

The case of Aberdeen is interesting. In the Burgh Records for 1418 we learn of the induction of a schoolmaster by the chancellor of the diocese on the presentation of the provost and burgesses, and on the chancellor testifying to the master being of good life, honest conversation, well versed in literature and science (*magnæ literaturæ et scientiæ*), and a graduate in Arts. Nearly a century afterwards, in 1509, we find the Town Council appointing on their own responsibility Master John Mershell to the headship of the grammar school. This action was apparently questioned by the chancellor, who had hitherto installed the masters of the school, and the matter was referred to the Pope, who apparently decided in favour of the Council. Accordingly, we find Master Mershell, who seems to have taken sides with the chancellor, appearing before the Council, confessing his offence, acknowledging that he held his appointment from them "as his predecessors had done in times gone by." But evidently the struggle between town and church was not over, for in 1538 we find the Council nominating Master Hew Munro and the chancellor Master Robert Skene. Once more the town carried its point and asserted its right to the patronage of the school, while recognising the chancellor's prerogative to induct the nominee of the Council after having satisfied himself as to the teacher's qualifications.

In the burgh schools religious instruction always occupied a prominent place, the only other subject taught in them at an early stage being grammar—*ars grammatica*—which included classical literature. To this logic was added in due course. As the management of the burgh schools

passed gradually into the hands of the Town Councils the instruction was liberalised by the addition of other subjects. Thus we read in the Burgh Records of Aberdeen of the master in 1544 giving instruction in science, writing, manners and such other virtues; and nine years later of arithmetic, and even Greek, Hebrew, French, and Gaelic being introduced, no special attention apparently being paid as yet to the vernacular.

A fact of some importance in the history of Scottish education emerges from the interview we have described between Master John Mershell and the Town Council. In acknowledging them his masters he asks "leave to pursue the teachers of grammar within the burgh"—evidently teachers of private schools who were poaching on his preserves. The Councils indeed found it necessary from an early stage to forbid private schools, which were springing up in the principal towns, from teaching any subjects considered the special province of their burgh schools. The motive of the Councils apparently was to maintain the prestige and usefulness of their grammar schools, uphold the importance and dignity of the burgh schoolmaster, and induce men of higher learning to come forward for such posts. Hence it is that we find the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1519 forbidding "any indweller of the burgh to send his bairns" to any but the principal grammar school, under penalty of 10s. for each person violating the order. The restriction, however, did not extend to private schools giving simple religious and elementary instruction in the "grace-book, pryer, and plane donat,"¹ which would fit them for admission at a later stage to the grammar school. Five years later the Abbot of Holyrood made a similar

¹ "Plane donat" means elementary Latin. Donat derives its name from Donatus, an author who lived in Rome in the fourth century, and who wrote a Latin grammar which was famous for centuries afterwards.

injunction against any one teaching grammar in Edinburgh other than Master Harry Henryson, who had just been appointed master of the high school. At Ayr not only were private schools forbidden by proclamation at the market cross, but teachers of such schools were obliged to hand the fees they had collected to the master of the grammar school. We find similar injunctions against private schools in Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and other towns.

In Scottish records we find occasional references to lecture or english schools for teaching the vernacular, to which were added subsequently arithmetic and writing. Like grammar schools, they were originally under the jurisdiction of the Church.¹ Information regarding them is meagre till after the Reformation. Being intended to give only elementary instruction, we find "the teaching and lering of lectouris" exempted from the prohibition to which we have just referred by Edinburgh Town Council against other than grammar schools. The lecture schools arose to fill a blank in the educational system of the country, and were meant chiefly for boys under the grammar school age. Probably the girls of the middle classes, too, received in them all the education considered necessary for them at that period in addition to the training of their homes, while the girls of the wealthier classes received their instruction in the nunneries.²

Down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, Scottish youths ambitious of carrying their education beyond the level of the grammar schools, with a view to entering the Church or other learned careers, had to go abroad for the purpose. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards

¹ *General Report of the 1864 Commission* (published 1868), p. 3.

² Edgar's *History of the Early Scottish Education*, p. 120.

we find them in increasing numbers attending the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Paris, Bologna, and other continental universities. In 1263 Sir John de Balliol, the father of the claimant for the crown of Scotland, made an endowment for poor students from Scotland attending Oxford University, and laid the foundation of the College that perpetuates his name. This increased the popularity of that University, and Scotchmen in large numbers obtained passports to continue their studies at Oxford—among them Henry Wardlaw, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews and founder of its University. At Padua University students from Scotland had a “nation” to themselves. But no University attracted more of the studious youth of Scotland than Paris, and in 1326 Bishop David of Moray founded and endowed the Scots College there for the higher education of students from his own diocese, but subsequently it was thrown open to all students from Scotland. Hume Brown mentions that, at the close of the fourteenth century, out of a list of twenty-one members of the English “nation” (comprising students from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia) in Paris University, no fewer than nine were Scots, all of whom afterwards became bishops in their own country.¹ Here were educated at one time or other Bishop Elphinstone and Hector Boece, both intimately connected afterwards with Aberdeen University, Michael Scott whose scientific learning earned for him in his day the title of magician, and John Major or Mair, George Buchanan, and Andrew Melville, who were among the foremost scholars of Europe in their time.

The growing desire of the Scots for higher learning, and the great expense and even danger of foreign travel in these days, led to the foundation of the three earliest Scottish Universities. The first was that of St Andrews,

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 208.

founded by Bishop Henry Wardlaw in 1411. The ratification of the Pope was necessary before the University could confer degrees on its licentiates carrying the right of acting as teachers and lecturers in all the seats of learning throughout Catholic Christendom. In 1413 the foundation of the University was confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII., and so great, we are told, was the delight at the event that four hundred of the clergy marched to a thanksgiving service in solemn procession and sang the "Te Deum" at the high altar, and the inhabitants gave themselves up to festivity and joy. At different times during the next century this University acquired three colleges—St Salvator's, St Leonard's, and St Mary's. Although it was intended by the Church to be a bulwark against heresy and schism, two of its colleges became centres of reformation doctrines and foremost agents in bringing about the overthrow of the Roman Church. It became a current saying with regard to any one who had imbibed Protestant ideas that he "had drunk at St Leonard's well."

The second University, that of Glasgow, dates from 1450 when James II., at the request of William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, petitioned Pope Nicholas V. to sanction the foundation of a University in Glasgow, which "from the salubrity of its climate and its abundance of all the necessaries of life" was particularly adapted for such an institution. The petition was granted, the object of the University, according to the charter, to be the extension of the Catholic faith, promotion of virtue, the cultivation of the understanding by the study of theology, canon and civil law, the liberal arts, and every other lawful faculty.¹ In 1453 the king granted the University a charter conferring certain privileges, such as exemption from the payment of taxes. For a number of years the University had no buildings of its own,

¹ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. i., p. 3.

the work being carried on in the cathedral and other church buildings. It obtained a site, if not a habitation, in 1455, when Sir Gavin Hamilton granted to the church authorities for this purpose a tenement in High Street, and four acres of ground stretching to the Molendar Burn. Here the University remained till it removed to the present imposing site on Gilmorehill in 1869. For the first century of its existence it cannot be said that the University had a successful career, for, like others of the same type, it seems to have suffered from inadequate discipline of its students. Still, even during that period, it could boast of such distinguished *alumni* as Bishop Elphinstone, John Knox, Cardinal Beaton, John Major the historian, and Robert Henryson the poet. After the Reformation it definitely embarked on its great career under the enlightened direction of Andrew Melville.

For forty-four years after the founding of Glasgow University no addition was made to the academic institutions of Scotland. The unsettled political condition of the country, and the continuous civil strife of James III.'s reign, were unfavourable to educational progress. The return of more peaceful times, and the strong government of the accomplished King James IV., were at once reflected in the literary activity of such poets as Blind Harry, William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, and in the publication of such works as *The Kingis Quair*, *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, and *The Lament for the Makaris*. Another sign of the reviving intellectual life of the country was the proposal made in 1494 by Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen to James IV. for the institution of a University in that city. The monarch applied for the consent of the Pope, at that time Alexander VI., who, in granting the request of "his dearest son in Christ, James, the illustrious King of Scots," said that he did so because there were districts in the north and north-eastern parts of the Kingdom cut off from the rest by arms of the sea and

very high mountains, in which dwell men rude and ignorant of letters owing to their distance from a university, that proper men could not be found for preaching the Word and administering the sacraments of the Church, that the famous city of Old Aberdeen, being near the places indicated, was suitable for a University in which all the Faculties could be taught both to ecclesiastics and laymen, who would thus acquire the most precious pearl of knowledge, and so promote the common weal of the Kingdom and the salvation of souls.¹ The University at first consisted of only one College—King's—Marischal College being founded almost a century later, in 1593.

Till the Reformation, scholasticism, with its somewhat arid course of study, reigned supreme in the three Scottish Universities. For the degree of Master of Arts in all mediæval universities, studies were arranged into two divisions, namely, the trivium with three subjects—Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, and the quadrivium with four—Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. In the middle of the third year the student was examined for the degree of Bachelor, and at the end of the fourth year for that of Master of Arts. It should be stated that, according to Elphinstone's scheme, Aberdeen was to be more completely equipped than any other University in Britain at that time, for not only was it to have the three usual Faculties of Arts, Theology, and Law, but also that of Medicine, in this respect being almost a century and a half ahead of Glasgow (1637), and nearly two centuries ahead of Edinburgh (1685). One other point that should be noted in this connection is that in the mediæval universities every graduate was under an obligation to teach for a certain time in the University if his services

¹ Grant's *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 16.

were required.¹ The Universities were not equipped in those early times with teachers or professors in individual subjects. Each student was placed under the charge of a graduate who conducted him through the whole of his studies in all subjects during his four years' undergraduate course. Such graduate teachers were called Regents, and this system continued to be the common one in Scotland till as late as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Roman Catholic Church in founding these three Universities in a small country like Scotland did so not solely in the interest of higher learning, but also that she might surround herself by an impregnable wall of doctors and masters by whom she might be strengthened, and thus be able to withstand the attacks of heresy and error. As it turned out, however, these same Universities were more potent than any other agency in bringing about the intellectual and spiritual movement that led to the Reformation. At the same time, let us gratefully acknowledge that it was to the Roman Church that we owe those great Universities which have always continued so national in their character, and have afforded during the centuries the opportunities of a liberal education to the poorest of the people.

From what we have said it will be seen that the religious houses of the Roman Catholic Church—the monasteries, abbeys, and cathedrals—were for centuries the centre of all that was best in the intellectual life of Scotland. Many of the clergy had been educated abroad, and were amongst the most cultured men of the time. It was because of this that the monasteries were able to perform the part both of school and college till the Universities were founded in the fifteenth century. The monks were the inspirers, as well as in many cases the builders, of those magnificent

¹ Burton's *Scot Abroad*, vol. i., p. 257.

Scottish abbeys and cathedrals which have never been excelled in architectural art, and are educative to-day even in their ruin. The monasteries were great landowners, and the monks lived and worked among the people and taught them the arts of agriculture and horticulture, as well as the rudiments of commerce. The Church laid securely, as we have seen, the foundation of the national system of education. Hence it was that the Scottish Parliament was able to pass in 1496, in the reign of that accomplished and far-sighted monarch James IV., the first compulsory Education Act recorded in history. The Act required "all barons and freeholders of substance to put their eldest sons and heirs to the sculis fra thai be aucht or nyne years of age, and to remane at the grammer sculis quhill thai be competentlie foundit, and have perfite Latyne." Thereafter they were to remain for three years at the schools of art and "jure." The object of the Act was that "justice may reign universally throughout the realm, and that those who are sheriffs or judges may have knowledge to do justice, so that the poor should have no need to see our sovereign lord's principal auditors for every little injury."¹ The penalty for an offence under the Act was £20, but no record of its enforcement has come down to us. The Act seems to have been in advance of its time, if we may take the testimony of John Major, the historian and one of the university teachers of John Knox, who wrote in 1521 that "the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals—no small calamity to the State."² The Act is interesting as the first instance of the entrance of the State, as distinct from the Crown, into the realm of educational legislation, and, while it was limited in its application and may have borne little immediate fruit, there

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 238.

² Major's *History of Greater Britain*, p. 48.

is no doubt that, as the first note of compulsion, it has exercised a considerable influence on the subsequent development of Scottish education.

As a result of the zeal of the Roman Church, Scotland, before the Reformation, was as well equipped educationally as any country. Hume Brown says: "There is excellent reason for believing that, with the exception of the Netherlands, no country in Europe was better provided than Scotland with schools for what was then primary and secondary education."¹ The Church did much for popular education without fee or reward of any kind, being content to "teach the poor for God's sake." That not only the nobility but the mass of the people had a considerable share of education, and could appreciate literature, is shown in the homely nature of much of the Scottish literature of this period, and in the amount of poetical and historical writing in the language of the people. As Sir David Lyndsay said:

"Whairfor to coilyearis, carters, and to cuikis,
To Jok and Tam my ryme salbe direckit ;
With cunning men howbeit it wilbe lackit."

As a result largely of the widespread interest in things of the mind, there was a literary outburst in Scotland during this period which forms an epoch in Scottish history. "During the fifteenth century," says Hume Brown, "Scotland produced a succession of men of literary genius which no country except Italy surpassed or even equalled"—this, too, in a relatively poor country with not more than a quarter of a million of inhabitants. James IV. himself was a poet of a high order. Not to mention other poetical works of Bishop Gavin Douglas, his rendering of the *Aeneid* has not been surpassed by any subsequent translator. The writings of Robert Henryson, "Chaucer's aptest and brightest scholar," show him a master of poetic style. To this period,

¹ Hume Brown, *Life of Buchanan*, p. 12.

too, belong the historical writings of Hector Boece, John Major, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross. William Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris* (c. 1507) shows that a large part of the literary productions of the age, and the identity even of a whole host of singers, have been lost. Perhaps amongst them were the writers of some of these grand old ballads of the time, such as "Sir Patrick Spens," "The Young Tamlane," "Mary Hamilton," and "The Battle of Otterburn."

In the opening years of the sixteenth century the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in education began to wane. With three Universities assuming naturally the intellectual leadership, and with the burghs securing more and more the control of their schools, the need of the management of education by the Church gradually diminished. The conception of the requirements of national education was widening, and the Church, too busy with internal matters, could not keep pace with the growing movement. A period of decay, too, commenced in the Church, and the monasteries were not retaining their pristine vigour. Even the high educational standard of the priesthood was falling, if we may judge from a statement of the Provincial Council of the Church in 1549.¹ The secular duties of the monasteries as wealthy proprietors were absorbing too much of their energies. The satirist is not always a reliable guide, but Sir David Lyndsay said "the Kirk has spoused with Dame Property,"

"And thocht bot paine poor pepyll for to teche."

Besides, the influence of the coming Reformation with its demand for ecclesiastical freedom began to make itself felt. The Church, it was said, was aiming too exclusively

¹ The Council charged the clergy with "crass ignorance of good literature and of all the arts." *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. 84.

at orthodoxy rather than the search for truth, and was depending on dogma rather than reason. It could not, therefore, keep pace with the growing demands of a people who, through men of fresh ideas and original force reared by the Church herself, had come under the influence of the Renaissance, the great intellectual movement which accompanied the transition from mediæval to modern times. Nevertheless, we should ever be grateful for the great educational work accomplished by the Roman Catholic Church during her period of power in Scotland. To her labours we owe the foundation of a national system of popular and higher education that will bear comparison with that of any other country.

Before closing our study of education during this period, it should be mentioned that one of the chief difficulties in the extension of popular education arose from the absence or scarcity of books. Printing had not been invented till the fifteenth century was well advanced. In 1474 Caxton set up the first printing press in England, but it was not till 1507 that James IV. granted to his "lovitiss servitouris Walter Chepman and Andro Millar" the sole licence to print books in Scotland.¹ A copy of the first volume printed by this firm is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and consists of poems of Dunbar and Chaucer, tales of romance and old ballads, showing that there was already a demand for literature in the vernacular. In 1509 an interdict was obtained by this firm to prevent other persons from importing for sale "mess bukes, manuallis, portuiss, matin, Donatis, and divers uther bukis printed by the said Walter Chepman," from which it would appear that church service books and grammars were among the first books to be printed in Scotland. The introduction of

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 129.

printing brought the treasures of literature within the reach of the people, and new ideas which formerly would have taken ages to filter down to the mass of the population now quickly reached and influenced all classes of society. The thoughts of creative minds had at length found a medium by which they could range world-wide, thus breaking down the educational barriers between the classes in our own country, and forming an intellectual bond between the nations.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION AND EDUCATION

THE Renaissance, which took its rise in Italy in the fourteenth century and spread in course of time over the whole of Western Europe, did much more than revive an interest in letters and in classical studies. Wherever it spread it introduced a spirit of inquiry, and asserted the right of individual liberty. This influence of the Renaissance opposed itself to any ecclesiastical or other system which tended to cramp the free development of the mind or spirit. The Protestant Reformation of Germany was the result of ideas called into play by the Renaissance. A movement which was convulsing Western Europe was bound to reach Scotland. An Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1525 “anent the damnable opinions of heresy,” forbade the introduction by sea of Lutheran books and pamphlets, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of ships and cargoes. It was further decreed by Act, in 1538, that “none should have, use, keep, or conceal any books of the said heretics, or countenance their doctrine or opinions.” At the same time the Roman Church set itself by necessary but belated reforms to put its house in order—efforts to a large extent nullified by the poetical satirists of the period. The new spirit could not be checked. The party in favour of reform was so strong in the Scottish Parliament that as early as 1543 an Act was passed that the Bible might be used “among all the lieges of this realm, in our vulgar tongue, of a good, true, and just translation, . . . and that none of

our sovereign's lieges incur any crime for having or reading the same."

In the same year attacks were made on monasteries in such places as Edinburgh, Dundee, and Arbroath, and unfortunately the spoliation of the beautiful ecclesiastical buildings began. Two years later the Earl of Hertford entered Scotland at the head of the English army, and in the name of the new faith destroyed, among others, the great abbeys at Kelso, Dryburgh, and Melrose. Step by step the Reformation approached. In 1557 the Lords of the Congregation drew up a remarkable manifesto in favour of Protestantism. In 1559 John Knox returned from Geneva and preached the reformed doctrines with such effect in Perth that a tumult, which he could not control, burned and destroyed three monasteries in the town. The frenzy for the destruction of religious houses spread, and soon the great cathedral at St Andrews, and the monasteries at Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, Scone, Paisley, and other places were sacked and destroyed. In August 1560 the Scottish Parliament approved as "wholesome and sound doctrine grounded upon the infallible truth of God's word" a Confession of Faith which had been drafted by John Knox and three others. A week later it passed three Acts: the first abolishing the Pope's authority and jurisdiction in Scotland; the second rescinding all old statutes which had enforced Catholic tenets; the third inflicting heavy penalties, with death on a third conviction, on any who might celebrate mass or even be present at it. By these several Acts of Parliament, Scotland in August 1560 became definitely a Protestant country.

Upon the ruins of the old church a new ecclesiastical and educational system had to be raised, and some share of the rich patrimony of the abbeys and monasteries was counted on as available for the purpose. The clergy of

the Reformed Church were even more zealous for education than the monks had been ; they were interested in it for its own sake, but also because they regarded it as the best means of diffusing among the people a knowledge of the "true religion." The leaders of the Reformation realised the necessity of purity of doctrine and strict discipline in the new Church, and accordingly, early in 1560, we find them pressing for an authorised order of worship and definite standards of ecclesiastical government. As Parliament was dissolved at the time, the Reformers induced the Privy Council to appoint a Commission "to draw up in a volume the policy and discipline of the Kirk." That was on 29th April 1560. The members of the Commission were John Knox, John Douglas, John Rowe, John Spottiswood, John Willock, and John Winram. The report of the Commission, which goes into marvellous detail, was issued on 20th May 1560.¹ It was called "The Book of Policy or Discipline," and is known generally as "The First Book of Discipline" to distinguish it from a subsequent document on Church Policy or Discipline drawn up by Andrew Melville. While the Book was a joint production, we learn from various sources that Knox was the chief author, and that he, more than any other, left his individual stamp on it. There is no proof that he wrote the chapter on education. What we do know is that he had already given evidence of his interest in

¹ There is some difference of opinion as to the precise date. Knox in his History gives 20th August as the date, and this is accepted by his two chief biographers—Dr McCrie and Professor Hume Brown. There is good reason for the view taken by a number of historians that, as Knox was writing from memory some time after the events recorded by him took place, he was mistaken as to the date. The Parliament that met in August 1560 seems to have renewed the instruction of the Privy Council, and this may be the fact that was in Knox's mind. In accepting 20th May 1560 as the date, we are following the edition of the First Book of Discipline published by Calderwood in 1621, and the Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland published in 1830.

education. In 1556 we find him advocating that there should be schools and colleges throughout the country instructing youth in the "tongues and human sciences," and in 1559 urging that schools should be established in all cities and chief towns.¹

The First Book of Discipline is divided into nine chapters, dealing with such matters as ecclesiastical doctrine, government, and policy, and the proper disposal of the patrimony of the old church. Only one chapter is devoted to education, under the title of "Schools and Universities," and we shall confine our attention to it. Although the chapter was only some ten octavo pages in length, yet in that space it gave a masterly sketch of a complete and well co-ordinated system of national education.

First there is pointed out the necessity of schools. "Seeing that God hath determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men . . . it is necessary that your Honours² be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm. . . . For as the youth must succeed us, so ought we to be careful that they have the knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the Church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus."³

¹ Laing's edition of *Works of Knox*, vol. v., p. 520.

² The Book of Discipline is addressed to the Great Council of Scotland.

³ The most authoritative text of the First Book of Discipline is that given in pp. 183-258 of the second volume of David Laing's edition of *The Works of Knox*. In that text the original spelling is given with all its variations and perversity. Knox had been resident a long time in England, and had mingled much with Englishmen on the Continent, so that he wrote a mixture of English and Scots. In the passages quoted we have given, for the sake of clearness, a modernised rendering of Laing's text, putting at times notes in brackets for the sake of making the meaning of the text more plain.

The Book of Discipline accordingly goes on to sketch a graduated scheme of national education:—

“Therefore we judge it necessary that every several church have a schoolmaster appointed, such a one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland [*i.e.*, at a distance from the sea; in the country] where the people convene for doctrine but once in the week, then must either the Reader or the Minister there appointed take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially in the Catechism, as we have it now translated in the Book of Common Order called the Book of Geneva. And further, we think it expedient that in every notable town . . . there be erected a College [*i.e.*, High School] in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the tongues, shall be read by sufficient [*i.e.*, efficient] Masters, for whom honest [*i.e.*, honourable] stipends must be appointed.”

The Book of Discipline next points out the benefits that would flow from such a system of schools:—

“The fruit and commodity hereof shall speedily appear. For, first, the youths and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in virtue, in presence of their friends; by whose good care many inconveniences may be avoided, into which youth commonly falls, either by too much liberty, which they have in strange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good care, and for such necessities as their tender age requires. . . . Lastly, the great schools called Universities shall be replenished with those apt for learning.”

The system of popular education thus outlined was to be compulsory on rich and poor:—

“The rich and potent may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend their youth in vain idleness, as

heretofore they have done. They must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their sons, by good exercise, to the profit of the Church and to the Commonwealth."

"It must be carefully provided that no father, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, use his children after his own phantasy, especially in their youth-head; all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue."

The Book of Discipline suggests that quarterly examinations should be held to decide which of the pupils in the elementary schools were to be selected and compelled to proceed to the secondary schools, and which were to be required to leave school at the end of the elementary stage and engage in some suitable occupation. Similarly, at the end of the secondary course, the pupils were again to be tested, and the most promising sent to the University to be prepared for the Church, Law, or Medicine, or to become University teachers. The works of the Book of Discipline are:—

"For this purpose must discreet, learned, and grave men be appointed to visit all schools for the trial of their [*i.e.*, the pupils'] exercise, profit, and continuance; to wit the ministers and elders, with the most learned men in every town, shall every quarter take examination as to how the youths have profited. . . . In every course the children must either proceed to further knowledge, or else they must be sent to some handicraft, or to some other profitable exercise. Provided always that they have first a knowledge of Christian religion, to wit, a knowledge of God's law and commandments, the use and office of the same, the chief articles of our belief, the right form of prayer to God, the number, use, and effect of the Sacraments, the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his office and nature, and such like. Without this knowledge neither deserveth any man to be called a

Christian, nor ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's Table; therefore these principles ought to be taught and must be learned in youth."

"Provision must be made for those that are poor, and are not able by themselves, nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward." The rich must educate their children "at their own expense, because they are able. The children of the poor must be supported and sustained at the charge of the Church, until trial be taken whether the spirit of docility [*i.e.*, capacity for learning] be found in them or not. If they be found apt to letters and learning, then may they not—neither the sons of the rich nor the sons of the poor—be permitted to reject learning. They must be charged to continue their study, so that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them."

Assistance at the Universities was to be given partly by making provision for a number of bursars at each University. There were to be seventy-two at St Andrews, as the largest University at that time, and forty-eight each in Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities. The bursars were "to be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the college" to which they belonged.

The Book of Discipline goes into great detail regarding the Universities as the coping-stone of the national system. There the ablest pupils from the schools were to spend eight years, between the ages of 16 and 24. At the latter age it was laid down that "the learner must be removed to serve the Church or Commonwealth," for it was found that students who remained to a greater age were always a source of trouble in the mediæval Universities. Of the eight years at the University three were to be devoted to studies in Arts, and five to professional studies in Medicine, Law, or Divinity.

In the time of Knox, Scotland had three Universities—

St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. They were suffering from lack of funds, from defective teaching, and from imperfect organisation. St Andrews University, for example, was composed of three separate Colleges with overlapping functions, leading to harmful rivalry and needless expense. Had the proposals of the Book of Discipline been carried out, these defects would have been remedied centuries earlier than was actually the case. It was proposed in the Book that the Universities should be divided into separate Colleges, each of which should have a clearly defined scope and function in the University of which it was a constituent part. All the Universities were to be brought into organic connection with the schools, and before a student could enter the University he was to be required to bring a satisfactory certificate as to his attainments and character from his teacher and minister.

With regard to the teaching in the Universities, it was proposed that there should be a separate teacher for each distinct branch, instead of a teacher taking the class of students who entered the University at the same time through all the subjects of their entire course, as was done under the regent system in almost every University in Europe at that time. As we shall see later, the Book of Discipline was a century ahead of its time in suggesting this reform.

The internal organisation of the Universities proposed by Knox and his fellows is intricate and given in great detail, and may be best understood if we take one University as an illustration, say, St Andrews. This University consisted, as we have said, of three Colleges, teaching exactly the same branches. But according to the First Book of Discipline the first College was to be devoted to Arts and Medicine, the second to Law, and the third to Divinity. All the students were to be required to take a three years' course

in Arts in the first College. The first session they were to give to Dialectics ; the second to Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Geometry, Cosmography, and Astronomy ; and the third to Natural Philosophy. If a student passed the prescribed examinations at the end of the three sessions, he was to become a graduate in Philosophy, and then he had to choose between Medicine, Law, and Divinity. If his choice was Medicine he remained in the College in which he took his Arts course, and after a further five years' course he could, by passing the necessary examinations, become a graduate in Medicine. If he chose Law he proceeded to the second College, where he would study Ethics, Economics, and Politics for one year, and Municipal and Roman Law for other four years. On passing the examinations at the end he would become a graduate in Law. If he chose the Church as his profession he proceeded to the third College for a five years' course in Greek, Hebrew, and Divinity, and on satisfying the examination tests at the end he became a graduate in Divinity, and was eligible to be a minister of the Church.

As has been already stated, no one could be admitted to the Arts course unless he brought a certificate as to his "learning, docility [*i.e.*, ability], age and parentage" from the master of his school and the minister of his parish. After that he had to take an examination conducted by the authorities of the College, and if he was found sufficiently instructed in Dialectics he could skip that subject at the University and pass straight into the class in Mathematics. Similarly no one could be admitted to study Medicine or Law or Divinity unless he had a certificate of satisfactory proficiency in the previous part of his University course.

The Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen were, according to the proposals of the First Book of Discipline, to be

organised on exactly the same plan, but they were to have only two Colleges each instead of three, namely, one for Arts and one for Law and Divinity—the Faculty of Medicine being restricted to St Andrews.

The Book of Discipline enters next into minute detail regarding the internal organisation of each College, the mode of election, duties, and stipend of the Rector of the University, who was to be the supreme head, and of the Principal and Readers of each College. It even enters into such matters of detail as that there should be a beadle of the whole University, and in each College a steward, cook, gardener, and porter.

According to Knox and the other reformers, the comprehensive scheme of national education just outlined was to be supported by the rich inheritance and patrimony of the old Church. They claimed that these, after making what provision was necessary for the dismissed incumbents during their lifetime, should be appropriated for the support of the proposed educational institutions, as well as for the sustenance of the clergy and the assistance of the poor. In particular, the Book of Discipline recommends that the revenues of the bishoprics, and of the cathedral and collegiate churches, with the rents arising from the endowments of monasteries and other religious foundations, should be set apart for the support of the Universities.

The epilogue of the short chapter on education in the Book of Discipline consists of these weighty and eloquent words addressed to the Privy Council. “If God shall grant quietness, and give your Wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasures ye are able to provide for them; which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help or comfort. And as this is most true,

we leave it . . . to be weighed by your Honours' wisdom, and set forward by your authority for the most high advancement of this Commonwealth committed to your charge."

Such are some of the chief proposals of this wonderful chapter of the First Book of Discipline. Four kinds of institutions, as we have seen, were to be built on the foundations already laid by the Church of Rome, namely:—

1. Upland or rural schools, in sparsely populated country districts, to be taught by the reader or minister of the parish. In these schools the young children were to be instructed in the rudiments, and especially in the catechism. Two years, from six to eight, were thought sufficient for this purpose.
2. In connection with each kirk in the larger villages and smaller towns a grammar school, to be taught by a separate official, a schoolmaster, competent to give instruction in grammar and Latin—the course to extend to four years, from eight to twelve years of age.
3. Every important town, especially the ten towns which were named as the seats of Protestant bishops (Kirkwall, Fortrose, Argyll, Old Aberdeen, Brechin, St Andrews, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries), was to be the seat of a "college" or high school in which a four years' course—from twelve to sixteen—in the languages and the arts of logic and rhetoric was to be taught.
4. Boys showing aptitude for learning were to pass on to one or other of the three Universities for eight

years—from sixteen to twenty-four years of age—during which they would get a three years' Arts course and a five years' Professional course.

The great educational ideas underlying the scheme were:—

1. That Scotland should have a complete national system of education forming a highway from the primary school to the university.
2. That there should be close co-ordination between different grades of educational institutions—primary school, grammar school, high school, and university.
3. That the condition of a pupil being admitted to a university should be that he bring with him a certificate from his schoolmaster testifying that he had gone through a satisfactory school education.
4. That education should be compulsory, that a boy should continue at school till the special talent is discovered by which he can best serve the community.
5. That education should not be the privilege of a class but the common need and right of all, that there should be free scope for the upward movement of ability in every rank of society, and that there should be one system of education for the son of the laird and the son of the labourer.
6. That poor but clever pupils should be maintained by the State while receiving their education.
7. That systematic religious instruction should be given in all schools.

The proposals of the Book of Discipline were not put into force. The Book was not submitted to Parliament, which indeed was not sitting at the time. It was submitted, however, to the Privy Council in January 1561, and, although not formally passed, it was signed by the majority (thirty-three) of the members, who pledged themselves to "set the same forward at the uttermost of our powers," stipulating at the same time that the life-interests of the bishops, abbots, priors and other prelates and beneficed clergy of the Roman Church be safeguarded.

The opposition to the passing of the Book of Discipline was mainly due to objections to the appropriation of the revenues of the displaced Church for the support of the proposed new religious and educational institutions. Some even of the nobles who had taken an active part in the Reformation coveted the riches of the Roman Church. Some of them, or their forefathers, had seized upon church lands, and others had taken long leases of them from the Catholic clergy for small sums of money, and were desirous to have these private bargains legalised. They were not prepared to see the wealth of the old Church simply pass into the coffers of the new, while they themselves would derive nothing from all the trouble and dangers they had undergone in their struggles for the Reformation. The spirit shown was not creditable to the aristocracy of the time. As Knox said, "some approved it [the Book of Discipline] and willed the same had been set forth by a law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Everything that repugned [*i.e.*, was repugnant to] their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage 'devout imaginations.'"

The First Book of Discipline was a magnificent scheme of statesmanship for the ecclesiastical administration of

Scotland, for the perfection of its educational system, for the relief of its poor, and for the improvement of its social organisation. Though the proposals of the Book did not become law, they have during the centuries had an immense influence on the Scottish people. As Carlyle said in his Rectorial Address in Edinburgh University, "Knox was heard by Scotland, the people heard him and believed him to the marrow of their bones; they took all his doctrine to heart, and they defied principalities and powers to move them from it."

Most of the progress in Scottish education since Knox's day has consisted in advancing towards his ideals. The great Education Acts of 1872 and 1918 are but modern expressions of some of his ideals, others having still to be fulfilled. These facts, Hume Brown says, "stamp the First Book of Discipline as the most important document in Scottish history," and its proposals as a whole cast the mould in which the Scottish character and intellect have been formed for nearly four centuries.

The reformed Church did not hesitate as to its attitude towards the educational and other proposals of the First Book of Discipline. In December 1560 the first General Assembly of representatives of the various congregations throughout the country composing the Church met, declared itself "the Universal Kirk," and adopted the proposals of the First Book. The State, on the other hand, never formally or fully accepted the proposals. In spite of the plundering greed of the nobles something was saved here and there, but it was only a small part of the ecclesiastical endowments by which education had benefited before the Reformation. As a consequence, the whole of the education of Scotland, especially in its upper reaches in the grammar schools and universities, suffered from diminished resources for many a day. As Ninian Winzet, a prominent prelate of the old

church, said, "in many towns there is not so muckle provided thereto (*i.e.*, to education) as a common house, and in none almost a sufficient living to a teacher." Not till three centuries after the Reformation did the State recognise its duty to the national schools, and during these centuries the responsibility and burden were left to the Church of controlling and maintaining to a large extent the educational system of the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

THE care of education was regarded as a natural inheritance from its predecessor by the Church of the Reformation. The Church adopted the ideals of the First Book of Discipline, and made the advancement of education a leading object of its policy. Nothing could be more admirable than its persistent efforts to secure the restitution to the purposes of education of even a portion of the patrimony of the ancient Church. In 1565 it petitioned Queen Mary to devote the emoluments of monks, annual rents, and obits of priests to the schools in town and country.¹ Three years later it asked Regent Murray to apply the surplus of benefices to schools "according to the will of God." In 1572 the Assembly requested the Regent and Privy Council to "reform the nobility in their wrongful using of the patrimony of the Kirk to the great hurt of the schools," and recommended that "all provostries, prebends, collegiate churches, and chaplainries should be bestowed by their respective patrons upon bursars, or students in grammar, arts, theology, law, or medicine." Nothing came of any of these and other proposals to secure assistance from the revenues which the old Church had devoted to education.

As help from the natural source was from the first doubtful, and eventually failed, we find the Assembly in 1562 urging the town councils to come to the assistance of the impoverished schools within their bounds, and to

¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk* (Bannatyne Press), p. 60.

support them out of the annual rents derived from "sources hitherto devoted to idolatry."¹ In 1595 the Assembly instructed every presbytery to exert pressure on the magistrates to augment the stipends of the masters of their grammar schools. Many other instances of the Church's efforts in the same direction could be quoted. But the Church was not content merely to appeal to parliament and the municipalities for assistance. It was at the same time giving liberally from its own slender resources to establish schools, to assist in paying the stipends of the teachers, and to aid the education of poor scholars in many parts of the country.

It was to be expected that the Church of the Reformation, which showed so deep an interest in, and made such sacrifices for, the welfare of the schools, should have a considerable share in their management, even as its predecessor had had. Its right of superintendence over schools not only in parishes but in burghs was guaranteed by successive Acts of Parliament from 1567 to 1707.² For instance, in 1567 it was enacted that in "all schools to burgh and land none be admitted to have charge and care thereof in time coming, nor to instruct youth privately or openly, but such as shall be tried by the superintendents or visitors of the Kirk."³ An Act of 1693 declared that "all schoolmasters and teachers of youth in schools are and shall be liable to the trial, judgment, and censure of the presbyteries of the bounds for their sufficiency, qualifications, and deportment in said office."⁴ Finally, an Act of 1707, passed for securing the Presbyterian form of church government and incorporated in the Treaty of Union, ordained

¹ *Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 17.

² *Third Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1864*, p. 8.

³ *Compendium of the Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. ii., p. 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

that "no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters or others bearing office in any university, college, or schools within the kingdom be admitted, or allowed to continue in the exercise of their function, but such as shall subscribe the Confession of Faith, and conform themselves to the Church, and submit themselves to the government thereof . . . by whatsoever gift, presentation, or provision they may be thereto provided."

These Acts of Parliament belong to periods when Presbyterianism was in the ascendancy, but there were others equally explicit passed in the intervals when Episcopacy was the accepted form of church government. Thus, in 1604, we find King James enacting that "schools in cities, towns, and families throughout the kingdom be taught by none but such as shall be approved to be sound and upright in religion; and for that effect the bishops should take order, displacing the corrupted, and placing honest and sufficient in their places." Again, an Act of 1609 required pedagogues "to have a sufficient testimonial from the bishop of the diocese before going out of the country with the children of the nobility and barons."¹

Acts of the General Assembly are just as definite with regard to the Church's jurisdiction over the entire educational system, and its right to satisfy itself as to the efficiency and qualifications of teachers. Thus, in 1563, the Assembly enacted "that the instruction of youth be committed to none within the realm, neither in nor out of universities, but to such as profess Christ's true religion, now publicly preached, and that such as now occupy the places in that profession, as said is, be removed from the same."² The Church always showed itself in advance of Parliament and the town councils in endeavouring to establish more efficient

¹ *Third Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. 9.

² *Compendium of the Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. ii., p. 10.

schools with more highly qualified teachers than already existed in the burghs, on the ground that the "good estate of the Kirk and Commonwealth mainly depended on the flourishing of learning." We find the Assembly repeatedly urging the town councils to establish grammar schools in their burghs. Again, in 1645, the Assembly resolved "that no schoolmaster be appointed to teach in a grammar school in any burgh or considerable parish without examination by the ministers, and representatives of the town, and heritors of the parish," to ensure that he "shall be found skilful in the Latin tongue, not only for prose but also for verse"; he must also be approved by the presbytery.¹ The Assembly, in 1706, recommended "to such as have power of settling schoolmasters in parishes to prefer thereto men who have passed their course at colleges and universities, and have taken their degrees, before others who have not, *ceteris paribus*." It recommended "presbyteries to take special care that all the schoolmasters within their bounds be such as have subscribed the Confession of Faith, and that presbyteries visit all the public grammar schools within their bounds, by some of their number appointed for that effect, at least twice every year."² In 1800 the General Assembly enjoined on all presbyteries "that they be diligent in exercising these powers which the laws of the land and of the Church have committed to them respecting the education of youth within their bounds; and particularly, that they call before them all teachers of youth, whether in parochial schools or schools of another description, and take trial of their sufficiency and qualifications in those branches of education which they profess to teach."³

So that the right of supervision of education by the Church was established beyond all question. Furthermore,

¹ *Compendium of the Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. ii., p. 311.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

several of the Acts of Parliament and of the Church that have been quoted show that the presbyteries had the right of visitation of all schools. They continued to exercise this right till the passing of the Education Act of 1872. At these visitations the efficiency of the instruction given in the schools was tested, the qualifications of the teachers were inquired into, and recommendations were made for the improvement of the existing schools or the establishment of new ones. Such visitations were the event of the year both to scholars and teachers. They were conducted generally with great thoroughness, and there is no doubt that in their time they did much good in maintaining efficiency of instruction and discipline, a wholesome rivalry between schools, and a sense of responsibility in the masters.

We need mention only one or two out of the many enactments relating specially to visitations. In 1567, soon after the Reformation, an Act of the General Assembly required visitors of the Kirk to try the principal, regents, and professors within colleges, and masters and doctors of schools, concerning their soundness in matters of religion, their ability to discharge their calling, and the honesty of their conversation. In 1595 the General Assembly instructed every presbytery to visit and reform grammar schools in towns within their bounds. The General Assembly in 1638 ratified these Acts, and stated that the visitation of colleges was to be by way of commission from the Assembly. Seven years later an Act of Assembly ordained that every grammar school be visited twice in the year by representatives of the presbyteries and kirk-sessions in the landward parishes, and in burghs by ministers and town councils, so that both the fidelity and diligence of the masters and the proficiency of the scholars in piety and learning may appear.¹ Shortly

¹ *Compendium of the Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. i., p. 256.

after the rebellion of the '45 we find the Assembly passing an Act requiring presbyteries to hold visitations for the purpose of establishing parochial schools, especially in the Highlands. We may conclude from the few instances just quoted that parish schools, and grammar schools in many of the burghs, were subjected to periodical visitations and examinations, more or less thorough, from the middle of the sixteenth century onward till the passing of the Burgh and Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act in 1861.

The general jurisdiction of the Church over the parish schools was never questioned, and remained unbroken, as we shall see, till the School Boards took over the responsibility. The relationship of the church to the town councils in the administration of the burgh schools is more complicated, and is instructive to the student of history and education. In the management of these schools there are three matters involved — superintendence, patronage, and maintenance. Before the Reformation the jurisdiction of the church in all these respects was practically unquestioned. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as we have seen, the councils took an increasing share of the financial burden, but the management otherwise was left to the church. The effects of the Reformation upon the burgh schools were not immediately apparent, but there was a gradual increase in the power of control exercised by the town councils. It is not easy to state in so many words where the authority of the church ceased and that of the town councils began, or how far their powers ran side by side. The councils provided the ways and means of erecting and maintaining the buildings and of paying the salaries of the teachers from the common good of the burgh, and it was but natural, and indeed inevitable, that they should demand an increasing say in the management of the schools.

Repeated Acts of Parliament, as we have shown, conferred on the Church the right of visitation and superintendence of the schools, and of testing the "sufficiency, qualifications, and deportment" of the teachers, and this right was at first generally acquiesced in by the burghs. Just as the right of supervision belonged to the church, equally it became recognised, but only after some controversy, to be the exclusive right of the town councils to manage the schools in their burghs, and to appoint the schoolmasters after they had been tried by the church as to their qualifications and suitability. Usually intimation to a teacher of appointment by the council was followed by some such phrase as "after being tried by the Kirk," "by the admission of the Kirk," "on the report of the minister," etc. In practice, the church did not think it necessary to exercise its power of superintendence much in the larger burghs, but limited it mainly to the smaller towns.¹

Sometimes the town councils attempted to get rid of ecclesiastical supervision, and appointed masters who had not been examined by the presbytery, but the attempt was always unsuccessful. In 1631 the ministers of Perth complained that the town council proposed "as patrons to place a schoolmaster without their trial in conversation, literature, and profession, whereby great prejudice might come to the seminary and religion." The council had to give way. An interesting example at a much later date may be cited. In 1727 the Town Council of Dunbar appointed a schoolmaster without his having been examined by the church. The presbytery summoned him to undergo his trials, but the town council forbade him to do so. After a keen controversy the presbytery was victorious, and the schoolmaster had to submit to examination by a committee of the synod. As the eighteenth century advanced evidences

¹ *Third Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. 9.

of opposition to ecclesiastical supervision of the burgh schools increased, but the right remained with the church till it was abrogated by the Burgh and Parochial Schools Act of 1861 (p. 67).

The Church did a most valuable work in itself establishing schools or in causing such to be established. As we shall see more fully in the next chapter, the foundation of the great system of parish schools in Scotland was laid by the Act of Parliament in 1696, which ordained that a school should be erected and a schoolmaster appointed by the heritors in every parish. If they failed to do so, the Commissioners of Supply, upon the application of the presbytery of the bounds, had the power to carry out the terms of the Act and to levy the expense on the heritors. Reports of the General Assembly year after year show the continual care the Church took for the diffusion of education throughout the parishes of Scotland under the terms of the 1696 Act.

But in spite of the powers thus conferred on the presbyteries there were not a few parishes without the means of education. In many cases, too, parishes were so extensive or so intersected by arms of the sea or mountainous ridges, that, even if there were the statutory parish school, large tracts of country were unprovided for. This was particularly the case in the outlying and more sparsely populated parts of the Highlands and Islands. To remedy this undesirable state of affairs, the Church and other friends of education at the beginning of the eighteenth century began to collect contributions to form a fund for the establishment of schools in these districts. When several thousand pounds had been collected the contributors applied to Parliament for a charter recognising them as a legal society and corporation entitled to hold property in its own name and to erect and maintain

schools. The charter¹ was granted by Queen Anne in 1709, and the new body was named The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (generally abbreviated to S.P.C.K.). So zealous was the Society that within ten years after its institution it built and owned over forty schools, in other ten years the number had doubled, and when the 1872 Education Act was passed the number was over two

¹ The charter is an interesting document in the history of Scottish education, and some extracts from it may be given:—

“Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. . . . Forasmuch as we, understanding the charitable inclinations of many of our subjects, for raising a voluntary contribution towards the further promoting of Christian Knowledge, and the increase of piety and virtue, within Scotland, especially in the Highlands, Islands, and remote corners thereof, where error, idolatry, superstition, and ignorance do most abound, by reason of the largeness of parishes, and scarcity of schools; . . . and we having by our royal proclamation dated the 18th day of August 1709, with the advice of our Privy Council, approven of, and recommended the foresaid charitable design, and declared our resolution to grant these our letters-patent for erecting the subscribers into a society and corporation for managing the said contribution; . . . and we judging that our granting these letters-patent for erecting and settling the foresaid corporation and society will be highly conducive for accomplishing these pious ends proposed, and that many others will be thereby induced the more cheerfully to extend their charity to the use aforesaid. . . . We do make, constitute, appoint, and ordain the persons to be named out of the subscribers and contributors, by the said Lord President and other Lords of Session . . . to be an incorporation, society, and body-politic, by the name of *The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*. . . . And we judging it of great import toward the right carrying on of this so Christian and religious a work, that such as shall be employed upon this fund as teachers in any capacity be men of piety, loyalty, prudence, gravity, competent knowledge and literature, and other Christian and necessary qualifications suited to their respective stations, do therefore, peremptorily require and enjoin the several presbyteries within whose bounds such persons have for the most part their ordinary residence, and other superior judicatories of the Church of Scotland, to make exact inquiry into their manner of life and conversation; and strictly to try and examine their other qualifications above expressed, as the foresaid laws and constitutions of Scotland do prescribe, before they be entered to such work.” . . .

hundred. The Society kept in close touch with the Church, and frequently reported its progress to the Assembly,¹ and we find the latter almost every year urging the presbyteries to appeal to their people for additional funds for the Society by church-door collections and otherwise, and even to preach an anniversary sermon on its behalf.

Notwithstanding the work done by the parish schools and the schools of the S.P.C.K., the Assembly considered that the number of uneducated persons throughout the country was deplorably large. This led it, in 1824, to appoint a standing Education Committee for increasing the means of education and religious instruction throughout the country. Its main purpose in reality was to supplement the work of the S.P.C.K. and the parochial school system. The Committee erected and supported schools in districts inadequately provided for, and it maintained them by means of donations, subscriptions, annual collections, fees, and latterly by Government grants. In these schools the instruction given was of the same nature and standard as that given in the parish schools. While religious instruction was given it was unsectarian, and in fact in many cases the children of Roman Catholic parents attended the schools.² When the people began to flock in large numbers from rural to urban districts the Church founded in these centres of population mission or sessional schools, so named from their being managed by the minister and kirk - session of a single congregation, or sometimes by a minister or elder from each kirk - session in the city. In 1851 there were no fewer than 104 sessional schools in Scotland, with 11,900 scholars. One of the earliest of these schools was the Edinburgh Sessional School opened in 1813—mainly by the efforts of Mr John Wood, a lawyer and a warm friend

¹ *Compendium of the Laws of the General Assembly*, vol. ii., p. 76 et seq.

² *Second Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. xliv.

of education. In 1837 it was constituted the Normal School of the General Assembly for training persons intending to become teachers.

After the Disruption or Secession from the Established Church of Scotland in 1843, some 360 teachers who had formerly been members of that Church joined the Free Church then formed. It was necessary to provide schools for the children belonging to families that had seceded, and with such vigour was the task undertaken that four years after the Disruption there were 513 schools maintained by the Free Church and doing work similar to that of the parish schools. Thus there were in Scotland from that date two large groups of schools belonging to the Presbyterian churches—namely, the Established Church Schools (sometimes called the Church of Scotland Schools) and the Free Church Schools. In addition to these, there was a much smaller number of schools in Scotland managed by the Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church. In 1867 the Second Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1864 gave the numbers of schools belonging to the various denominations as follows:—

Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge	202
Church of Scotland	519
Free Church	617
Episcopal Church	74
Roman Catholic Church	61

The secession of such a large body of Presbyterians from the Church of Scotland in 1843 naturally raised difficulties in connection with the right under the 1693 Act of the presbyteries to test the teachers in the Free Church Schools as to their "sufficiency, qualifications, and deportment." A test case as to the power of presbyteries over teachers who had seceded was tried in the law courts in connection with the

¹ *Report*, p. xxxiv.

schoolmaster of the burgh school of Campbeltown.¹ On his going over to the Free Church in 1843 he was deposed from his office by the presbytery, who claimed the right of jurisdiction over the school. The Lord of Session who tried the case decided that whether the standing of the school was that of a parish school proper or of a grammar school for the burgh, it fell in virtue of the Statutes of 1693 and 1706 under the jurisdiction and superintendence of the presbytery of the bounds. The town council did not appeal against the judgment.

A more complicated case² arose in connection with Elgin Academy, in which the burgh authorities questioned the right of the presbytery to any superintendence over burgh schools. In this instance the Academy served both as a public school and a grammar or burgh school. In 1844 the town council appointed a classical master to the school without any trial of his qualifications by the presbytery and without his having signed the Confession of Faith. The presbytery remonstrated with the council regarding the appointment, but no notice was taken of their protest. Five years later the council appointed a teacher of English to the Academy, again without reference to the powers claimed by the presbytery. A further cause of breach was a resolution of the town council to exclude the Church henceforth from the examination of the school which they had conducted annually. The presbytery raised an action in the Court of Session, and the case went on from one phase to another for ten years. The town council's contention was that the right of superintendence vested by law in presbyteries did not extend to burgh schools or public schools within burghs. The case was finally decided in 1861, and the judgment was that all masters in public burgh schools were subject

¹ *Third Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

to the jurisdiction, superintendence, and control of the presbytery.

This being the legal position, the general opinion was that it was nullifying to a considerable extent the power of the burgh authorities over their schools, and was retarding the development of education on national lines. Accordingly Parliament passed the Burgh and Parochial Schools (Scotland) Act in 1861. The Act relieved burgh schools of the superintendence of the Church, and their masters were no longer required to subscribe the Confession of Faith, nor to be subject to the trial of the presbytery for their "sufficiency, qualifications, and deportment in their office." The passing of this Act marks an important stage in the evolution of Scottish education, namely, the breaking entirely of the age-long connection between the Church and the burgh schools.

A magnificent service rendered by the Church to Scottish education was in connection with the training of teachers. It is to the Church and not to the State or to the Universities that we owe this national undertaking. We have already referred to the institution of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland in 1824. One of its early actions was to require teachers, before being appointed to the schools belonging to the General Assembly, to undergo a short course of observation and practice in the Market Place Sessional School, Edinburgh. That was in 1826. During the next eleven years the training given in the school went on growing, and the managers handed the school over to the sole management of the Education Committee of the Church. By and by the work outgrew the accommodation in the Market Place School, and the Education Committee erected the Normal School and Training College in Johnston Terrace, Edinburgh. The building was ready for occupation in 1845, and of the total cost of £8500 the Church of Scotland

contributed £4500 and the Government the remainder. Training Colleges on similar terms were erected by the Church in Glasgow and Aberdeen. After the Disruption in 1843 the Free Church erected Training Colleges in the same three cities. In 1850 the Episcopal Church instituted a Training College in Edinburgh, and the Roman Catholic Church in 1895 opened in Glasgow a Training College for women students. Until 1906 these Colleges trained practically the whole of the teachers for the schools in Scotland. It is universally acknowledged that they discharged their duties well, and performed a national service for which the country can never be too grateful.

Until the passing of the 1872 Education Act, the Church of Scotland bore the responsibility of superintending the education given in the national schools, and also at its own expense provided and maintained a large proportion of the school buildings, and paid a considerable share of the salaries of the teachers. When the Act came into force, the Church of Scotland and the Free Church handed over their schools free of charge to the newly created national authorities—the School Boards. But the country was not ready yet to undertake the training of teachers for the national schools, and the churches continued the onerous task till 1906, when the two Presbyterian churches transferred their colleges and their functions to the newly instituted Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers in the four University towns. Since then these churches have continued to have a considerable share in the management of the four Training Centres (p. 220). Nothing could be more creditable to the churches than the work they have done for all phases of Scottish education.

CHAPTER V

THE PARISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

IT is a mistake, as we have seen, to suppose that the parish school system in Scotland owed its origin to the Reformation. It existed in germ as early as the Christian Church itself. It took more definite form when the parish emerged in the twelfth century as the unit of ecclesiastical and social organisation (p. 23), and it developed to a considerable extent during the period of Roman Catholic ascendancy. But there was no attempt to make it a national system till 1560, when the proposals of the First Book of Discipline were made. The scheme could not be carried out at that time because of the greed of the nobles, but it continued to be a national ideal to be realised as soon as means were available. The first important step in that direction was taken in 1616 when the Privy Council of Scotland directed "that in every parish of this Kingdom, where convenient means may be had for establishing a school, a school shall be erected, and a fit person appointed to teach the same, upon the expense of the parishioners, according to the quality and quantity of the parish."¹ This was ratified by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1633, which is the first legislative enactment authorising the establishment of parish schools. Under its authority schools were established in some of the more cultivated districts of the country, but the means of obtaining elementary education continued generally far from satisfactory. The religious and political unrest of the time prevented the Act being put into force. It was only after the Revolu-

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. x., p. 671.

tion that an Act was passed which became the charter of Scottish education.

This was the famous Act of 1696. It was in the main a re-enactment by William III. of an Act for founding schools in every parish which had been passed by Charles I. in 1646 and been repealed at the Restoration. The measure was termed an "Act of Settling of Schools," and it was due largely to the persevering demands of the Church for increased means of education. The preamble of the Act states, "Our Sovereign Lord, considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many places has been, and how beneficial the establishing and settling thereof in every parish will be to this Church and Kingdom, his Majesty, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, etc." The Act ordains that in the 1049 parishes in the country not incorporated as Royal Burghs, "there be a commodious house for a school settled and established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish, and for that effect that the heritors in every parish meet, and provide a commodious house for a school, and settle a salary to a schoolmaster, and that they stent and lay on the said salary conform to every heritor's valued rent within the parish, allowing each heritor relief from his tenants of the half of his proportion for settling and maintaining of a school and payment of the schoolmaster's salary." If the heritors failed to act, then the presbytery was authorised to apply to the Commissioners of Supply of the county to carry out the terms of the Act at the expense of the heritors. It was this power of compulsion that saved the measure from the fate of the Acts of 1616 and 1633. Under the Act the heritors were bound to pay the schoolmaster a salary of not more than 200 merks (£11, 2s. 3d.) nor less than 100 merks.¹ Under

¹ The merk was a Scotch silver coin issued first in 1570. It was equivalent to two-thirds of a pound Scots, or 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. sterling. Twenty shillings or one pound Scots was equal to 20d. sterling.

previous statutes the general supervision of the schools was vested in the presbyteries in which they were respectively situated, and the same Church Courts had the power of censuring, suspending, and dismissing the masters. This Act of Settling of Schools was the real basis of the national system of schools in every parish, and by the responsibilities mentioned being laid upon the heritors, laymen were brought for the first time into direct contact with educational affairs.

The salary fixed by the 1696 Act became in time inadequate. Difficulties also arose as to which heritors were entitled to vote for the election of schoolmasters, and as to the power of any other tribunal to review the decision of the presbyteries with regard to admission and deposition. These difficulties were removed by the Acts of 1803 and 1861.

By the Act of 1803 the salary of parish schoolmasters was raised to a maximum of 400 merks (£22, 4s. 5d.) and a minimum of 300 merks (£16, 13s. 4d.), with a provision for revision every twenty-five years,¹ "when they shall be raised to the value of not more than two chalders of oatmeal and not less than one chalder and a half." The heritors had to provide for the schoolmaster a dwelling-house suitable to the size and circumstances of the parish, but it must have not less accommodation than two rooms inclusive of the kitchen. They must also provide an enclosed garden of at least one-fourth of a Scots acre, or give an equivalent in money. In the case of parishes requiring two or more schools because of their wide extent or peculiar configuration, the total salary allowance for the teachers might be fixed at 600 merks, and the heritors were relieved of the obligation to provide

¹ In 1828, for example, under this Statute a small addition was made to the salaries of the parochial schoolmasters whereby they got a maximum of £34, 4s. 5d., and a minimum of £25, 13s. 4d.

dwelling-houses or gardens. Such additional schools in a parish came to be known as "side schools." According to the Act of 1696, the schoolmaster was elected by the heritors and the minister. By the Act of 1803 the heritors entitled to vote must be "proprietors of land within the parish to the extent of at least £100 Scots of valued rental."

The Act of 1861 introduced certain modifications. It raised the salary to not more than £70 per annum and not less than £35—the precise amount in each case to be fixed by the heritors and minister. Again, according to the Act of 1803, schoolmasters-elect were to be examined and approved by the presbyteries, and were required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland. The Act of 1861 required the master-elect to be examined, not by the presbyteries but by the University Court, Scotland being divided for the purpose into four districts, each of which was attached to a University. Also, instead of signing the Confession and Formula, the master had to sign a declaration contained in the Act stating that he would teach nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. Finally, the parochial schoolmaster was to hold his office *ad vitam aut culpam*. If charged with *culpa* the 1861 Act gave the schoolmaster power to appeal to the sheriff.

Such was the parochial school system of Scotland which remained in force till it was merged into the more comprehensive national system introduced by the Act of 1872. The amount of public money spent on the parochial schools was considerable. The Report of the Education Commission published in 1867 stated that the annual sum contributed by the heritors and tenants to the parish and side schools amounted to £48,000, exclusive of the capital sum expended on school buildings and on schoolmasters' dwellings and gardens. For this sum more than 86,000 children were

receiving education. In virtue of these parochial schools, the system of education in Scotland differed vitally from that in England during the same period. In the former country it was a legal obligation to establish a school in each parish and maintain it by taxation, the school so established being essentially non-sectarian¹; in the latter the schools were erected and maintained principally by voluntary subscription, and were managed by the clergy of the various denominations or by private individuals. In short, in the one country there was a national system, and in the other no attempt at such a system.

In the parish school the instruction given was chiefly elementary, but there were many districts in Scotland in which grammar or burgh schools were few and far between, and in these the parish schools were the only means of giving a secondary education to those who aspired to the professions or to a university training. It was common for the parochial teachers, a large proportion of whom had attended some university classes and many of whom were graduates, to give advanced instruction in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics to selected pupils. Through their parish schools the Scottish people enjoyed better educational facilities than any other portion of the Empire at that time. These schools offered to the sons of the poorest peasants the possibility of a higher education, and an entrance to the learned professions. They helped to remove the distinctions between one class and another; every child of every rank of life was welcome within the walls of the parish school. Probably twenty or thirty per cent. of the students entering the universities came straight from the parish schools.² This close connection between the parish school and the university remained for centuries a distinctive

¹ *Second Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. xxx.

² *Third Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. ix.

feature of Scottish education. It certainly could not have been attained in a code-bound system of payment by results, such as prevailed both in England and Scotland at a later date.¹ Such a system would have reduced schools in Scotland at the period with which we are dealing to uniformity, would have discouraged the practice of teaching advanced work in the parish schools, and would have tended to accentuate the social distinction between those who attended such schools and those who had to go to other schools if they wanted a secondary education.

The presence of the advanced pupils in the parish schools had a two-fold advantage: (1) The teacher's ambition to turn out good scholars reacted beneficially on the lower work of the school, and kept alive his intellectual interests; (2) The better pupils were the pride and reward of the teacher, and an incentive to the younger pupils to find a place amongst them some day. There were, however, evident dangers. There was the temptation, for instance, to neglect the rank and file for the sake of the special few. To prepare two or three pupils annually for the university was more attractive to the scholarly teacher than the laborious drilling of the mass of the children in the elements of education. Sacrifice within limits was justifiable in the common interest, and we have no evidence that in practice it went beyond that.

The parochial school system in course of time proved quite insufficient for the wants of the nation. We have seen how it had to be supplemented by side schools, by

¹ The Third Report of the 1864 Commission at page ciii states: "Teachers say that under the Revised Code they must neglect the higher branches. One very efficient teacher said in answer to a question as to how he found the Code work in his school, 'Well, I must be frank, and acknowledge that I had to neglect my higher work this year, otherwise I never could have got the bulk of the school to pass the standards.'"

the schools of the S.P.C.K., and those of the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, as well as the denominational schools of the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Churches, and many adventure schools.

Moreover, no provision had been made in the 1696 Act for migrations of population from country to town, and no account had been taken of probable economic developments. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were periods of great industrial progress. Coincident with the expansion of trade, the growth of industrial centres, and the rise of mining and fishing and trading communities, the population had increased considerably, and it had distributed itself very unequally. Some districts, in consequence, had too many competing schools, many others had none at all, and in the cities parochial schools were practically non-existent. It is estimated that at the middle of the nineteenth century there were about 100,000 children in Scotland, and these chiefly in the cities, attending no school. Many of the parish schools were defective with regard to the state of the buildings, the equipment necessary, and the quality of the teaching. The system suffered seriously from want of organisation, and of a central authority able to make its influence felt by every individual connected with it. Such an authority was supplied, as we shall see, by the Education Act of 1872.

Notwithstanding its shortcomings, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the beneficial effects exercised by the parish school system for over two centuries on the mental training and habits of the Scottish people. As a result of it, Scotland had at the beginning of the nineteenth century a long established system of public schools, whereas England had still only a sprinkling of voluntary schools.

CHAPTER VI

THE BURGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

WE have already traced the origin of the grammar or burgh schools in considering the school system which was under the fostering care of the Roman Catholic Church (p. 25). We have seen that long before the Reformation there were grammar schools in all the towns of any importance in Scotland. They were founded in connection with the abbeys, monasteries, and cathedrals in centres of population. Though the management of the grammar school originally belonged to the Church, yet the burghs as early as the fifteenth century claimed, as has already been said, a voice in appointing the schoolmaster. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the Church was becoming less and less influential in the management and maintenance of these schools, and the town councils were taking the control and support more and more into their own hands. The Reformation nearly completed the transference of the patronage of the grammar schools from the Church to the burgh. Similar schools of subsequent date originated in some cases in private endowments, but mainly in the action of the burghs themselves. This was purely voluntary on the part of the latter, for there was no statutory obligation on the burgh to establish and support these schools, as there was on the heritors in the case of parish schools.

But in whichever manner the grammar or burgh schools originated, their distinctive mark in course of time became that they were under the patronage and management of the town councils, the Church, however, being entitled, as we saw in

Chapter IV., to exercise a certain superintendence over them, till this right was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1861. The powers and obligations of the town councils in connection with these schools consisted mainly in providing and maintaining the buildings, appointing the masters (subject to the trial and judgment of the Church), deciding the salaries, fees, length of school session and school day, and the curriculum—everything in short except the actual teaching and maintenance of discipline, which were the special duty of the teacher. Sometimes the expenses of the school were paid by endowments from Church lands, but such cases were rare. In nearly every instance the cost of providing and maintaining the school building and of paying the salaries of the masters was met partly by town assessments or grants from the common good, and partly by fees.

The town councils contributed liberally towards the maintenance of their schools in all reasonable ways, and they exercised their power of control generally with intelligence, fairness, and success. Being in close touch with the people they understood the educational needs of the burgh, and did not hesitate to introduce such changes or reforms as the community required. Generally their own sons and daughters, and those of the burgesses who could afford the fees, attended the school. They had a direct interest, therefore, in the success of the school, and, for this reason and for the good name of the burgh, the town council took pride in the efficiency of their school. An interesting old custom in connection with a number of the burgh schools was the delivery once a year by the schoolmaster of the keys of the school and dwelling-house to the town council as recognising their ownership of the school and authority over the teacher. The formality was gone through generally immediately after the annual election of magistrates. Courtesies were exchanged, and the keys were handed back

to the teacher with good wishes and exhortations to continued diligence.¹

A feature of the burgh schools, which might have been anticipated from their constitution, was that they were attended by children from families widely separated in the so-called social scale—a fact rendered possible by the low fees charged. This mixture of classes was beneficial to the whole tone and intellectual work of the school, and created a valuable bond of union in a democratic community. A former pupil of the old High School of Edinburgh said : “Several circumstances distinguished the High School beyond any other which I attended: for instance, variety of ranks; for I used to sit between a youth of a ducal family and the son of a poor cobbler.” Lord Brougham, the famous Lord Chancellor, expressed the same opinion in 1825. Speaking at a public dinner in Edinburgh, he said : “A public school like the old High School of Edinburgh is invaluable, and for what is it so? It is because men of the highest and lowest rank in society send their children to be educated together. The oldest friend I have in the world, your worthy Vice-President, and myself were at the High School together, and in the same class were some in a rank of life still higher than his. One of them was a nobleman, who is now in the House of Peers; and some of them were sons of shopkeepers in the lowest part of the Cowgate of Edinburgh—shops of the most inferior description—and one or two were the sons of menial servants in the town. There they were, sitting side by side, giving and taking places from each other, without the slightest impression on the part of my noble friends of any superiority on their parts to the other boys, or any ideas of inferiority on the part of the other boys to them; and this is my reason for preferring the old High School of

¹ Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 97.

Edinburgh to other and what may be termed more patrician schools, however well regulated and conducted."

We have mentioned the pride the town councils took in their burgh schools. In order to promote the success of these, as they thought, and protect them from competition, the councils did not hesitate to restrict or even entirely interdict private schools within their burghs (p. 28). Several instances are given in the Third Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1864 to inquire into Schools in Scotland.¹ As early as 1519 the town council of Edinburgh enacted that no dweller in the burgh should have his sons taught Latin in any other than the Grammar School, and that the penalty of violating the order be ten shillings Scots. Again, in 1665, on the Rector of the High School complaining of the falling off in numbers due to the competition of unlicensed teachers, the town council decreed that no persons, upon any pretence whatever, should be allowed to teach grammar within the city unless they were authorised by the council to do so, and that no inhabitants of the city or suburbs should send their children to any other than the town school. The penalty on offending teachers was to be fine or imprisonment, and offending parents were to pay each quarter to the master of the High School a sum equal to the fee charged to scholars of similar grade. The master of the High School was given power to require the town officers to apprehend and imprison any who, by their contumacy and disobedience, were guilty of a breach of the order.

Despite these somewhat drastic regulations evasions seem to have continued, for the Privy Council in 1680 issued a proclamation forbidding any private Latin school in the city or suburbs, and all owners of such schools were compelled to make a declaration to the following

¹ *Report*—p. 13 *passim*. This Report is the most important source of information on the grammar and burgh schools of Scotland.

effect:—"We, whose names are subscribed, keepers of Latin schools within the city, bind and oblige us, conform to the Court Ordinance, that we shall, before the term of Whitsunday next, cease and forbear to keep Latin schools, by teaching children within the city or privileges thereof; and shall not take upon us, each of us for our own parts, to teach Latin or keep a public or private school for that effect in any time coming, under such penalty as the town council shall think fit to impose upon us." In due course private schools began to make their appearance again, and in 1724 we find the town council passing a series of resolutions to the effect that private schools wanting in order and discipline were prejudicial not only to the public schools but hurtful to the manners and education of youth; that none would be allowed to teach within the city without the authority of the council; and that five teachers of the High School, and five licensed private school teachers in addition, were sufficient for the youth of the city. As late as 1792 Leechman, who taught Sir Walter Scott English, was one of the private teachers of English licensed by the magistrates.¹ The licensing of private teachers in this way by the council continued as late as at least the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The Commissioners give examples of similar actions by other burghs. Thus in Ayr in 1666, the town council issued a proclamation "by tuck of drum" forbidding anyone to teach Latin other than the Rector of the Grammar School "and his doctor."² In 1658 Peebles forbade any women who kept private schools to teach any male pupil, under a penalty of twenty shillings Scots for each offence. In Brechin

¹ Steven's *History of the High School of Edinburgh*.

² If there was more than one teacher in a school, one was called the rector or headmaster and the others were called doctors. The title doctor in this sense has long since disappeared, having given place to that of master or assistant.

in 1674, no boy over ten years of age was allowed to attend any school within or without the burgh other than the Grammar School. Crail, in 1728, passed a similar restriction for boys, but the age limit in this case was six. In 1683, the authorities of Burntisland decided that the only private schools permissible were those conducted by women, who were allowed to teach "lasses and young children." But perhaps Dumfries outdid all the other burghs when, in 1767, it forbade anyone to teach writing without town authority, and, after thus depriving the private teachers of their calling, ordered each of them "to find sufficient caution that he and his family shall not be a burden on the place, under a penalty of £10 sterling." Examples could be multiplied, but enough has been said to show that the well-meaning town councils took a somewhat unenlightened view of their duty towards education, and did not perceive, what has been amply proved by the experience of more recent times, that increasing the supply and quality of education is the surest means of spreading the demand.

But the regulations of the town councils with regard to the burgh schools by no means ended with the restriction or suppression of opposition private schools. They condescended on the most minute details regarding the internal management of the schools, the subjects to be studied, the length of the school day, the Sunday duties in connection with the school, the salaries of the masters, and the fees of the pupils. Some of the regulations are drastic in the extreme, according to present day ideas, and must have been irksome both to teacher and pupil.

The most vivid accounts of the daily routine and internal arrangements of the grammar or burgh schools are those contained in school directories, *i.e.*, statements of rules and regulations, that have come down to us. The earliest extant directory is that of Aberdeen Grammar School in

1553.¹ School work began at 7 in the morning, and each boy on entering had to repeat on bended knee a prescribed prayer, and at the close of the school at 6 in the evening prayers were sung to "God the best and greatest." The first duty of the headmaster after morning prayer was the chastisement, either orally or by strokes, of those who had failed in prescribed tasks. Lessons went on till 9 o'clock, when the scholars were allowed an hour for breakfast. Similarly there was teaching from 10 to 12, followed by an interval of two hours for dinner. The headmaster prelected daily on Terence, Virgil, or Cicero to the highest class, and occasionally to others. From 4 to 5 the boys had to repeat to their teachers the lessons of the day, and from 5 to 6 there was exercise in disputation. There were strict regulations regarding discipline. Elementary pupils and neophytes were enjoined to observe "Pythagorean silence" for a whole year. The senior pupils were to avoid speaking in the vernacular, but might speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Gaelic. Pupils were to engage in no play except under the supervision of an assistant master. All games of chance for heavy stakes, money, books, or part of one's dinner, were forbidden, but senior boys might play for trifles, such as leather thongs. Punishment was to be inflicted upon those who were disobedient, came late to school, had not prepared their lessons, moved unnecessarily from form to form, chattered during the prelections — upon, in short, those vaguely termed "the authors of mischief."

According to the Directory of the Grammar School of Peebles in 1655,² work began at 6 o'clock in the morning

¹ The document is printed at the end of John Vaus's *Rudimenta Artis Grammaticæ*, published in Paris in 1553. Vaus was the first Professor of Latin in King's College, Aberdeen.

² Only a summary is given here. The document is quoted in full in the *Third Report of the 1864 Commission*, vol. ii., p. 146.

and went on till 6 in the evening, with an interval from 9 to 10 for breakfast, and one from 12 to 1.30 for dinner. On Tuesdays and Thursdays play was allowed from 2 to 4, and a half holiday was allowed on Saturdays. Work began daily with morning prayer and psalms, and a quarter of an hour before the evening closing was devoted to prayer, reading a chapter of the Bible, and singing a psalm. Even Sunday was not a day of rest for teacher or pupil. The routine on that day was as follows:—"Each Sunday he (the school-master) shall convene the said male bairns at 8 hours in the morning, and teach them their Sunday's lessons of Scripture and Catechism, till the ringing of the second bell to the Kirk, at which time he shall go to the Kirk with the scholars, in comely and decent order, and in time of preaching mark disorders among them, with censuring of them therefor. He shall convene the said bairns at 1 afternoon, and at the ringing of the second bell address himself with them in manner foresaid. At the ending of the afternoon sermon, he shall convene the said male bairns, and take accompt of their notes of preaching, and of their Sunday's lessons." The Directory contains the peculiar restriction:—The school-master "shall not remove from his charge, nor go furth of burgh, without license of ane of the Magistrates."

The Directory of Elgin Grammar School (now Academy) of 1649 is very similar to that of Peebles both for week-days and Sunday. The Directory of Dunbar Burgh School in 1679 contains instructions regarding matters of discipline that would do credit to modern liberal ideas. "If children may be won by words or threatenings, it is expected that the masters will make use of prudence in their actions, and spare the rod as long as it may consist with the good of the children; but if neither fair words nor threats will gain them, then shall the masters show, both by their words and countenance, an aversion to passion

and a dislike to the action, with suitable expressions to that purpose, in which humour they may correct, mere necessity for the welfare of the children compelling them to it, but not for every trifle to stupify them with strokes."¹ In the case of this school the time allowed for play was limited to an hour and a half on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the afternoon on Saturdays.

These quotations may convey a fair idea of the routine work of grammar or burgh schools in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The Sunday duties required of teachers continued down till at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. One is struck, too, by the long school hours, and more particularly by the Spartan custom of meeting for lessons at 6 in the morning. In 1595, the Grammar School of Glasgow met at 5 in the morning! About the middle of the seventeenth century the morning hour in Edinburgh was changed from 6 to 7 o'clock, and in the course of time the afternoon closing was gradually put forward. In 1754, the school hours in winter in the metropolis were changed from 9 to 12 and 2 to 5, and in summer from 7 to 9, 10 to 1, and 3 to 5. Long hours continued to rule in the burgh schools till the beginning of the nineteenth century, when an improvement set in; and when the 1872 Act was introduced the school day averaged six or seven hours for the five school days, namely 9 to 3 or 4, with short intervals in the forenoon and afternoon and a longer interval in the middle of the day.

The burgh school was the historical parent of the present-day secondary school. Originally its distinctive sphere was to give instruction in grammar and language—especially Latin, whence it was often called the grammar or Latin school. The classical character of the curriculum and the extent of the study of Latin in these early times are shown

¹ *Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. 17.

by a Diary¹ kept by James Melville, a nephew of the famous Andrew Melville. From 1561-8 he attended a rural school at Logie, not far from Montrose. There from the age of seven onwards he received instruction in the rudiments of Latin grammar, with the vocables in Latin and French. This was followed by the study of Latin etymology and syntax, the *Minora Colloquia* of Erasmus, some of the *Eclogues* of Virgil, and the *Epistles* of Horace and Cicero. From this school he proceeded for two years (1569-70) to the Grammar School of Montrose, and he says of his studies there: "The master of the school was a learned, honest, and kind man. He was very skilful and diligent. The first year he caused us to go through the Rudiments again, thereafter enter and pass through the first part of the Grammar of Sebastian; therewith we heard Phormione Terentii, and were exercised in composition. After that we entered to the second part, and heard thereat the *Georgics* of Virgil, and diverse other things."

The credit of introducing the study of Greek into schools in Scotland belongs to John Erskine of Dun who, on his return from studying on the Continent, brought a master from France who taught it in Montrose Grammar School in 1534.² George Wishart, the martyr, was master of the school at the time, and acquired a knowledge of the language from this teacher. It had not as yet found a place in any of the Universities. The next school in which we hear of it being taught was the Grammar School of Perth in 1558. The teaching of Greek gradually spread, and early in the seventeenth century we have records of several schools in which it was taught. From Steven's *High School of Edinburgh* we learn that a class for the study of the rudiments of Greek was formed in 1614. But soon the subject dropped out of

¹ See M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii., p. 411.

² M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 4.

the curriculum of the school, and the study of it was not revived till Dr Adam became Rector (he died suddenly in the school in 1809). The innovation drew forth an extraordinary remonstrance from the Principal and Senatus of the University to the town council in 1772, which may be quoted, as it throws an interesting light on the backward condition of the study of Greek in Scotland at that period :—

“We beg to lay before our honourable patrons some particulars which affect the prosperity of the University so nearly, and are of such importance to the plan of education in this city, as to call for their immediate attention and interposition. About the beginning of October, the Rector of the High School opened a class for teaching the elements of the Greek language, which a considerable number of his scholars attend. In this, as well as other Universities of Scotland, the Greek class is elementary. The professor begins to teach his students in the first principles of that language, and instructs them in the grammar until they are capable of reading the authors in that language.

“By this innovation of the Rector’s, it is evident that an encroachment is made on the province of the University, and he deprives the professor of Greek students, who, according to the accustomed course of education, should have attended his class. We have inspected two sets of regulations concerning the course of education in the High School, framed by the Professors of the University at the desire of the Magistrates, and confirmed by Acts of Council, the one in A.D. 1644, the other in A.D. 1710; and by both of these the High School is considered only as a Latin school, nor have any of the present Rector’s predecessors thought themselves entitled to teach Greek.

“As the Magistrates and Town Council are patrons both of the University and the High School, we trust, in their attention to the welfare of both these seminaries of learning, that they will prevent any interference between them, and will not permit such an encroachment upon the University by a master under their authority, but limit him to his proper function of teaching the Latin language, as sufficient to occupy his whole time and attention.”

The study of Greek gradually extended, but it never took the same hold of the schools as the study of Latin, and we learn from the Report of the Endowed Schools Commission that in 1872 Greek was taught in only thirty schools in Scotland.

Most of the grammar schools in the larger burghs were exclusively devoted to the teaching of classics till the beginning of the nineteenth century, and they did not include even English in their curriculum. In the smaller burghs, on the other hand, the grammar schools from a very early stage in their history gave instruction in all the branches of school education, including classics, English, writing and arithmetic—doing indeed much the same work in the towns as the parish schools were doing in the rural districts. In such cases the teaching by the rector was confined as a rule to classics, and a subordinate master, the doctor, taught the other subjects. A further difference between the grammar schools in the smaller and larger burghs, which should be noted, was that in the former case the scholars included generally both boys and girls, while in the latter only boys were taught, no provision being made for the education of girls out of the burgh funds. In the nineteenth century the “inferior” branches began to make their way even into the most important grammar or burgh schools. The curriculum of the High School of Edinburgh was re-organised by the town council in 1827, just two years prior to the opening of the present building on Calton Hill, and the teachers of classics were required “to give instruction also in English literature, history, and geography, but in such a way as not to interfere with the leading department of study—Classical Literature.” At the same time mathematics, including arithmetic, was introduced as a new department. It was not till 1866 that English, including literature, grammar

and composition, was taught as a separate subject by special masters.¹

In Aberdeen Grammar School similar changes were made about the same period. In Glasgow, the Grammar School confined its instruction to classics till 1816, in which year writing and arithmetic were added to the course. In 1834 special teachers of mathematics, English, and French were appointed, the town council being moved to take this step by the success along these lines of Edinburgh Academy, instituted only a few years before. To mark the re-organisation, the name of the school was changed from Grammar School to Glasgow High School. Without going into further detail we may say that similar developments took place about the same period in the grammar schools in other towns in Scotland.

The absence of English and the other branches not taught in the grammar schools in the largest towns was supplied, as we saw in Chapter II., by preparatory and elementary schools, called Lecture or English Schools, and by Song Schools. The Lecture School was concerned mainly with the teaching of reading and writing, and boys remained at it till the end of their ninth year. It came into existence, as we have seen, before the Reformation, and one of the earliest mentions of it in Scotland is the prohibition by Edinburgh Town Council in 1499, in order to prevent the spread of the plague, against the holding of Lecture Schools "by any manner of persons, men or women." The penalty for an offence was being "banisht the toun."² The mention of women teachers shows that there were dame schools in Scotland as early as the fifteenth century. James Melville in the Diary to which we have referred tells us that he got the beginnings of his education in a "school for lasses" kept by one Marjorie Gray in Montrose.

¹ *Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. 34. ² *Burgh Records of Edinburgh*.

Before concluding these remarks on the instruction given in the burgh schools, it may be said that, prior to 1872 when the schools were transferred to the School Boards and became subject to a considerable measure of government inspection, there was no uniform or prescribed course of study in these schools. An examination of the curricula of schools in different localities reveals the great diversity that existed. In the absence of a definite curriculum, parents selected the subjects they wished their children to be taught, and paid a separate fee for each subject. If the branches were taught by independent teachers, as was often the case, undesirable competition between departments was common, and subjects were selected sometimes according to the pushfulness of the teachers concerned rather than according to their educational value. If a boy intended to proceed to the University the selection was easy—University subjects prevailed, and in such cases Latin, Greek, and mathematics formed the staple of the school course.

Just as there was no uniformity in the curricula, similarly there was no uniformity in the organisation of the teaching staff in the grammar or burgh schools. In some cases each master taught all branches and carried his class right up the school in these subjects, rotating in this way with other teachers who did similarly. The separate masters or doctors were sometimes called regents, and the system, which was a common one in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was known as the regenting or rotating system.¹ In course of time it became common to have certain subjects taught by separate masters, and others combined under one master, the combinations varying from school to school. Again, some schools were divided into four distinct departments, such as classics, modern languages, English, and mathematics; others into three, such as classics, English, and

¹ Strong's *History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, p. 143.

commercial subjects; and in Dundee High School there were at one time as many as eight distinct departments—classics, English, mathematics, French, German, writing and arithmetic, drawing and painting, and commercial subjects. In fact, much depended on the teaching staff available, but the first-mentioned type of organisation into four departments was the most prevalent.

Under the regent system the classes, consisting as they generally did of all the pupils in a year, were sometimes inordinately large according to present ideas. George Borrow in *Lavengro* gives an interesting account of the system as he observed it while a pupil in the High School of Edinburgh, then situated in High School Yards, near the University :—

“ High School, so called, I scarcely know why; neither lofty in thyself nor by position, being situated in a flat bottom; oblong structure of tawny stone, with many windows fenced with iron netting—with thy long hall below, and thy five chambers above, for the reception of the five classes into which the eight hundred urchins, who styled thee instructress, were divided. Thy learned rector and his four subordinates. . . . Yes, I remember all about thee, and how at eight of every morning we all gathered together with one accord in the large hall, from which, after the litanies had been read, the five classes from the five sets of benches trotted off in long files, one after the other, up the five spiral staircases of stone, each class to its destination; and well do I remember how we of the 3rd sat hushed and still, watched by the eye of the dux, until the door opened, and in walked that model of a good Scotchman, the shrewd, intelligent, but warm-hearted and kindly dominie, the respectable Carson.”

Fully 70 per cent. of the teachers in burgh schools had had some University training, and nearly 40 per cent. of the whole were graduates of a University in Scotland or England or the Continent.¹ From this it will be apparent

¹ *Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. 78.

that the Universities exercised a very considerable influence on the standards of education in these schools. As we observed in the case of the parish schools, the tenure of office of teachers in burgh schools was *ad vitam aut culpam*, and it was held in law that a teacher could not contract out of this system by any special arrangement between the parties concerned.

The emoluments of the teachers in burgh schools came from two sources—the salaries paid by the town council, and the fees paid by the scholars. Sometimes there were also endowments, but they were so rare or so small in the case of burgh schools that they may be omitted for our present purpose. The salaries paid by the town councils varied both in place and in time. If we take the case of Edinburgh High School, we find that prior to 1680, according to the Third Report of the 1864 Commissioners (p. 19), three doctors had an annual salary of 300 merks divided amongst them. At that date the headmaster's salary was increased to 500 merks, and his doctors had each 150 merks. On a petition from the teachers in 1749 for an increase of their stipends, the town council raised the salary of the headmaster to 600 merks and that of each of the other masters to 360 merks. The rector's salary in 1845 was raised to £100, no addition being made to that of the other teachers. The Commissioners found that in 1864 the rectors or headmasters of the burgh schools throughout Scotland had annual salaries from the town councils varying from £20 to £100. By 1874, the schools then being under the School Boards, the same salaries ranged from £120 to £300.¹ The average annual salary in that year for all teachers in burgh schools was £119, 2s. It is interesting to compare these figures with the corresponding ones under the Minimum National Scale of Salaries laid down by the Scottish Education Department

¹ *Grant's Burgh Schools*, p. 505.

in terms of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Under these Scales the salaries of Assistant Male Teachers rise from £250 to £400, those of Women Assistant Teachers being £50 less. The salaries of Headmasters and Headmistresses are not laid down, but have to be submitted for the approval of the Department.

Reverting to the question of fees, which in bygone times were the chief source of income to the teachers, we find, as we might expect, that the fees varied in time and place just as the salaries did. Taking again the case of Edinburgh High School—the uniform quarterly fee in 1630 for each child of a burgess was 20 shillings Scots.¹ In 1709 it was fixed at 5s. sterling a quarter. About a hundred years later still (1805) it was raised to 10s. 6d., and in 1827 to £1 per quarter, when Candlemas offerings were abolished.² In 1874 the rector drew £759 from fees.

In Glasgow High School in 1750 the fees were 4s. a quarter, and were raised to 10s. 6d. in 1807, and to 15s. in 1826. In 1864 the fees for Latin were 15s. a quarter, and other subjects were charged separate fees at similar rates. In 1874 the English Master in Glasgow High School drew £1117 from fees, out of which he paid £100 as a retiring allowance to his predecessor.³

¹ *Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. 21.

² The Candlemas offering is interesting. On 2nd February each year, according to an old Scottish custom, every boy and girl was expected to present a gift in money to the teacher, the amount in each case depending on the means and social position of the parents. The sum varied from sixpence or a shilling to a crown or more. At the conclusion of the ceremony of the pupils marching to the master's desk and presenting the gifts, the children were dismissed for a holiday. In country districts the practice lingered till as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.

³ *Grant's Burgh Schools*, p. 506.

ACADEMIES.

Another important forerunner of the present-day secondary school was the academy. The curriculum of the old grammar or burgh schools, with its strong classical bias and its lack of organisation, was not giving universal satisfaction. About the middle of the eighteenth century there arose a demand in many places for a more modern curriculum, including science and commercial and practical subjects. In addition to this, the existing school buildings in some cases were not in a satisfactory condition, and there were burghs with no burgh school. All these reasons working together, led to the institution of the new class of schools called academies. They were mostly founded towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. They afforded a much required increase to the provision of secondary education throughout the country. They were founded by voluntary subscriptions, and their constitution was largely proprietary. Their management was vested in directors selected by the subscribers, and certain persons *ex officiis*, and in some instances the town councils were represented on the directorate. Until these schools were established the town councils had exercised the entire control over all schools in their burghs. But the introduction of these proprietary schools brought this to an end, and from that time till this day, successive Education Acts notwithstanding, there has existed in Scotland a highly important class of secondary school not under the management of local public bodies. In response to this modern movement in secondary education, sixteen academies were established at one time or other. The earliest was Perth Academy founded in 1761, and some of the others were Dundee Academy founded in 1786 (now merged into the High School), Inverness Academy in 1788, Elgin Academy

in 1791, Fortrose Academy in the same year, Ayr Academy in 1794, and Dumfries Academy in 1802.

There was no uniformity in their management. Perth Academy was an exception to the general rule in that it was founded by the town council (with the aid of public subscriptions) on an appeal to them by certain burgesses, and it was managed by the council. The directors of Dundee Academy consisted of ten subscribers and a like representation of the town council, with the Provost as chairman. In Inverness Academy the directors consisted of all subscribers to the Academy of £50 or upwards, the Provost, four Bailies, the Dean of Guild, the Sheriff-Depute of the county, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Inverness, and five representatives chosen by the Commissioners of Supply of the county. In Ayr Academy the management was vested in subscribers of £50, heirs-male of subscribers of £100, five representatives chosen annually by subscribers of not less than £5, the Sheriff-Depute of the county, and seven members elected annually by the town council. These cases may be taken as illustrative of the types of management of the academies at the time of their foundation; but in several instances modifications have been introduced since then. The instructive feature is the considerable admixture of the proprietary element on the managing bodies in all cases except Perth and Elgin, where the buildings were erected at the joint expense of the town and private subscribers but where the latter seem at no time to have had a share in the management of their academy or a voice in the appointment of the teachers.

One feature that originally distinguished the academies was, as we have indicated, the emphasis they placed on science, commercial subjects, and the more modern branches of education. This is well illustrated in the case of Perth Academy. It originated in a resolution by the town council in September 1760, that, considering it would be of "great

utility to the youth to have an academy for literature and science established in Perth, the council recommend an inquiry be made.”¹ In November of the same year a memorial was presented to the council on behalf of a number of burgesses, which stated that:

“In times not long past, all learning was made to consist in the grammatical knowledge of dead languages, and skill in metaphysical subtleties, while what had an immediate reference to life and practice was despised. But Providence has cast our lot in happier times, when things begin to be valued according to their use, and men of the greatest abilities have employed their skill in making the sciences contribute not only to the improvement of the physician, lawyer, and divine, but to the improvement of the merchant, mechanic, and farmer in their respective arts. Must it not then be of importance to put into the power of persons in these stations of life to reap that advantage science is capable to afford them.”

The curriculum proposed for Perth Academy in 1760 was an ambitious one. It consisted of the higher branches of arithmetic, physical and political geography, logic, and the principles of composition; algebra, including the theory of equations and the differential calculus; geometry, consisting of the first six books of Euclid; plane and spherical trigonometry; mensuration of surfaces and solids; navigation, fortification, analytical geometry, and conic sections; natural philosophy including statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, and astronomy. The town council adopted the proposed curriculum with some modifications. According to Grant,² the academy carried out in a large degree its original programme, and has the distinction of being the first public school in Scotland to introduce science classes into its curriculum. As another example, the subjects taught in Dundee Academy in its early years consisted of arithmetic in all its parts; mathematics including Euclid,

¹ *Burgh Records of Perth.*

² *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 119.

plane trigonometry, practical geometry, mensuration, surveying, gauging, algebra, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, fluxions ; geography, navigation ; natural philosophy ; astronomy ; drawing ; perspective ; French.

We need not detail the curricula of other academies. The reaction against classics and in favour of science went too far, and in course of time the academies lost their original characteristics, and became to all intents and purposes like the grammar schools, but not before they had exercised a distinct influence in liberalising the teaching in those schools. They had the advantage of having generally a wider and more practical course of studies, newer and more commodious buildings, and a larger and better equipped staff of teachers. Some of them retained their separate identity, and became competitors with the grammar or burgh schools, while others became partially or wholly amalgamated with them. The academies have made a highly important contribution to secondary education in Scotland.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS

SCOTTISH education does not possess any individual endowments with large incomes comparable with those of some of the great public schools of England, such as Eton and Harrow.¹ Unfortunately many bequests originally intended for education in Scotland were lost to it in course of time for one reason or another. We know from old charters, for instance, that education received many endowments during the period of Roman Catholic power, but most of these during or subsequent to Reformation times were diverted from the purpose for which they had been set apart. In most cases it is impossible now to trace the alienation of the endowments from the schools, although one would have thought that the poverty of the country and the national zeal for education would have made such misappropriations impossible. One of the oldest of these pre-Reformation endowments for the maintenance of schools and scholars of which we have a record is that at Ellon in 1387 for the education and support of four scholars. Again, we find that in 1489 the rectory of the church of Kincardine was endowed on condition that the incumbent conduct the school in connection with the church.² Coming nearer to Reformation times, we learn from charters

¹ Eton had in 1864 an income of £20,569 from landed property with a probable increase of value of £10,000 a year, besides 37 livings in her gift worth £10,000 a year. This revenue is larger than that enjoyed at that time from endowments or bequests by all the burgh schools and Universities in Scotland taken together (*Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. 19).

² *Grant's Burgh Schools*, p. 34.

in the Register House at Edinburgh that the prebendary of the collegiate church of Crail in 1542 endowed the grammar school there with two crofts of 7 acres, some tenements, and several "biggings." Two years later Bishop Reid of Orkney founded and endowed a school in connection with his Cathedral in Kirkwall.

When the Reformation took place, it was proposed by the authors of the First Book of Discipline that a grammar school should be founded and endowed in every town, and that other benefactions to education should be obtained from the patrimony of the Roman Catholic Church. It was impossible, as has already been indicated, to carry out these proposals for the reason that the barons got possession of the Church properties, and it does not appear that even an appreciable fraction of the plunder was devoted to the cause of education. The grammar schools were the chief sufferers, and they would have been in a serious position but for the town councils which came to their aid, and maintained them without assistance from national resources. Royalty came with credit out of the unseemly scramble for the possessions of the Old Church, and the Scottish sovereigns appear to have been almost the only members of the nobility who contributed from their share of the Church revenues towards the support of education. Thus, in 1563, Queen Mary granted a stipend of £10 a year to the master of the grammar school of Dundee. In 1566, the Town Council of Edinburgh obtained from the same sovereign a gift for the High School of the endowments in Edinburgh which had been devoted by the Dominican and Franciscan monks to education. In 1572, James VI. granted to the Town Council of Irvine the chaplainries and altarages within the burgh for the support of the grammar school. Examples need not be multiplied.

Even the few schools which received endowments out of the benefices of the pre-Reformation Church

obtained little benefit from them because of the abuses and mismanagement rife at that time in connection with all bequests, especially those derived from the property of the Roman Church. The evil was so crying that the Scottish Parliament passed an Act in 1594 "to remedy the corruption and manifold disorders entered into schools and hospitals by which their buildings are become ruinous and their revenues almost entirely dilapidated, to the great decay of learning and the harm of the poor." The Act provided for the recovery of the revenues of the schools and the application of them to their proper use according to their several foundations, so that the schools "may be brought to better perfection, and, if it be possible, to their former state and integrity."¹

Fortunately Scotland, though relatively poor and sparsely populated, has never lacked during the centuries for liberal benefactors of education, and the fruits of their generosity have been considerable. The Royal Commission appointed in 1872 to inquire into all Educational Endowments in Scotland summarised the annual income from these endowments as follows, excluding University endowments: ²—

	Annual Revenue.
I. <i>Hospital Endowments</i>	£79,245
II. <i>School Endowments</i> —	
1. Endowments mainly in connection with parochial and other schools for elementary instruction	£42,979
2. Endowments mainly in connection with burgh, grammar, and other schools for secondary instruction .	16,550
	59,529
Carry forward	£138,774

¹ *Acts of Parliament (Scotland)*, vol. iv., p. 94.

² *Third Report, 1875, of the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland)*, pp. 13 and 239.

	Annual Revenue.
Brought forward	£138,774
III. General Endowments—	
<i>i.e.</i> , endowments such as the Bell, Dick, Milne, etc.	
Bequests, not appropriated to any particular Institution	17,118
IV. Mixed Endowments—	
<i>i.e.</i> , endowments partly charitable and partly educa- tional, of which education gets, say	18,640
Total	<u>£174,532*</u>

* In addition to this, there was £22,020 of University Endowments given since 1808.

On examining the detailed returns on which these figures are based, two significant facts emerge. The first is the remarkably small total of endowments for secondary as compared with primary education. Even of the total of £16,550¹ given above, only about one-third belonged to the public burgh or grammar schools, the remainder going to schools established by private benefactions. In other words, the schools best fitted to raise the standard of education in the country, and to form the connecting link for deserving pupils between the elementary schools and the Universities, were almost destitute of endowments. It does little good to help a clever and deserving child during the compulsory period of elementary education and leave his parents to struggle for the means of giving him a secondary or higher education as best they can. Obviously assistance should be given in the main in the later, not the earlier and less expensive stage of education. In the second place, the distribution of the educational endowments throughout the country was very unequal, an income of about £112,000 per annum from that source being localised in and around four large cities—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Not that these centres of population were over-endowed, but some of the smaller burghs, and indeed the greater

¹ The values of the Endowments of individual schools are given in the same *Report*, p. 231.

part of the country generally, suffered from lack of the assistance and stimulus which come from such endowments.

The passing of the Education Act of 1872 drew attention, as a matter of course, to the part being played by the educational benefactions of the country. The opinion had been growing for some time that the revenue from endowments was not being employed to the best educational advantage. Apart from the defects we have mentioned, it was considered that the conditions attached to some of the older endowments were either not suited to modern requirements, or the objects for which they were instituted were being attained by other means. In some cases the endowments were not merely unnecessary in existing circumstances, but the old-time restrictions attached to them by their founders were not a benefit under present conditions. They were obstructive to progress, and could not be correlated with the national policy in education laid down in the 1872 Act.

But besides limitations due to their date of foundation, bequests were hampered by all kinds of conditions as to names and founder's kin and birthplace, the effect of such restrictions being to narrow the application of the benefactions to an extent out of all proportion to their wealth. Such preferences, too, fostered a tendency on the part of the favoured individuals and districts concerned to depend upon the endowments without being able fully to utilise them. The vastly increased facilities for communication and transport in modern times had deprived many of the territorial restrictions of much of their original significance. As a result of the changes in society continually taking place, some localities were endowed in excess of their requirements, while others were suffering from want. On the other hand, there are always great difficulties in the way of the revision of endowments. The matter is indeed complex. If due care were not exercised, and if reforms were carried out drastically, those who might be inclined to leave their

wealth to education in future would be discouraged, and reformers would have defeated their own purposes. Not without strong reasons, for instance, can we take from one locality to give to another, or transfer money from one class of the community to another. Re-allocation of endowments can only be made as a rule *in loco*, in order that the aim of the founder may be observed as far as possible.

But, provided alterations in the applications of endowments are made with care to fulfil in spirit the purposes of the foundations in the light of modern circumstances, there seems to be no valid objection to them. The Oxford University Commissioners of 1852 put the matter admirably.¹ They said: "There are many motives, some mean, some noble, which lead men to devote their wealth for ever to what they regard as a great and durable purpose. A wise benefactor would be more strongly induced to bestow his wealth for the public benefit if he had the assurance that his foundation would be so regulated from time to time by the wisdom of the State, that it would never become, or at least not be suffered to continue, useless, or worse than useless, but that it would be made to promote his highest purposes for ever. The sight of charities abused, and secured in their abuses by being placed beyond any remediable power, would be much more likely to damp the ardour of a philanthropist than the sight of charities cautiously and wisely reformed."

It will be seen from the statement of revenues on p. 99 that the chief endowments are attached to what are called Hospitals. Indeed, of the endowments for education in Scotland nearly one-half of the total amount is devoted to the support of Hospitals. The name Hospital was originally applied to almshouses for the maintenance of the poor. The name as applied to institutions for boarding, clothing,

¹ *Report*, p. 160.

and educating orphan or destitute children was introduced into Scotland by George Heriot, who died in London in 1623, and gave instructions in his will to erect "a public, pious, and charitable work . . . in imitation of the public, pious, and religious work founded within the city of London, called Christ's Hospital"—the Blue Coat School founded in 1553. George Heriot's Hospital was so successful that it soon had many imitators in different parts of the country, but chiefly in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. The Royal Commission appointed in 1864 (generally known as the Argyll Commission after its chairman the Duke of Argyll) to inquire into the Schools in Scotland gave the following information regarding the chief of these institutions from which it obtained returns:—

Net Revenue of, and Number of Pupils in, each Hospital.¹

Hospital.	No. of Pupils.	Net Revenue.	Proportion of Revenue to each Pupil.
Robert Gordon's (Aberdeen) . . .	162	£4,903	£30 5s.
Daniel Stewart's (Edinburgh) . . .	68	3,216	47 5s.
James Donaldson's do. . .	222*	8,273	37 5s.
George Watson's do. . .	83	5,312	64 os.
George Heriot's do. . .	180	9,000†	50 os.
Merchant Maiden do. . .	75	3,528	47 os.
Trades' Maiden do. . .	48	1,581	32 18s.
John Watson's do. . .	84	4,607	54 16s.
Orphan do. . .	116	2,662	22 18s.
Cauvin's (Duddingston, Edinburgh)	26	1,100	42 6s.
	1064	£44,182	

* Including 71 deaf and dumb children.

† Exclusive of a sum of about £4500 spent by the Heriot Trust on bursaries, apprentice fees, allowances for rents, etc.

¹ *Third Report of the 1864 Royal Commission*, published in 1868, p. xix. A later and more detailed statement is given at p. 33 of the *Third Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1872 to Inquire into Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland)*. The latter Report, published in 1875, gives statistics for 26 Endowed Hospitals with 1510 foundationers and a total net revenue of £79,245.

Day Schools.

Hospital.	No. of Pupils.	Net Revenue.	Proportion for Education per Scholar.	Clothing.
George Hutcheson's (Glasgow)	173	£1319	£2 10s.	£4 4s.
George Heriot's (Edinburgh)	3055	4517†	1 9s.	...
James Gillespie's do.	200	160	0 16s.	...

† Exclusive of a sum of about £4500 spent by the Heriot Trust on bursaries, apprentice fees, allowances for rents, etc.

It will be noted from the above table that the great majority of the Hospitals are situated in or near Edinburgh. Indeed, if we include Stiell's Hospital at Tranent and Schaw's Hospital at Prestonpans, there are about a dozen Hospitals in the capital or its vicinity. This wealth of Hospital endowments had an important effect at a later date, as we shall see, on the development of secondary education in Edinburgh.

About the middle of the nineteenth century, opinion began to set against the Hospital system of maintaining and educating young children. The educational results were not considered to be commensurate with the large expenditure involved, varying from £23 to £64 per annum for each pupil, not including the large outlay on buildings, grounds, etc. It was felt that if the founders were educated in day schools, and a reasonable allowance were given to parents or guardians for the maintenance of the children in their own homes, at least half of the current outlay could be saved without diminishing the number of founders, and the trustees would be enabled from the surplus thereby created to extend greatly the means of education in the community.

The seclusion of life, too, which characterised the Hospital

system gave rise to much criticism, as being entirely unnatural and unsuitable for children. This isolation from home and family life, and from free association with other children, was not in consonance with Heriot's intention. In his Trust Disposition he gave power either to educate the children within the Hospital or to send them out to the Grammar School, and it was laid down in the statutes of the Hospital prepared by his friend, Dr Balcanquall, that after learning the rudiments of Latin—that is, say, at 9 or 10 years of age—the boys should be sent to the Grammar School till they were fit to enter the University or to be indentured as apprentices. It was not till more than a century after Heriot's death that the practice began of giving all the boys their education in the Hospital. The sense of confinement and restraint in the close system for young and active beings, its narrowness and monotony, and its lack of contact with real life led, in course of time, to its almost total abandonment.

The Argyll Commission recommended with regard to the Hospitals that, subject where necessary to the approval of Parliament, the Board of Education should amend the statutes of these institutions with a view to the extension of education.¹ In the same year (1868) the movement for the reform of Hospital endowments was greatly assisted by the action of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh in requesting the late Professor S. S. Laurie to report on the four Hospitals managed by them, and also to make an inquiry into the whole Hospital system. He was busily engaged on the subject at the time, for he was also drafting reports for Heriot's Hospital and Donaldson's Hospital. The Merchant Company expressed "cordial concurrence with Professor Laurie in thinking that the Governors should take measures towards breaking up the monastic character of such institu-

¹ *Third Report of 1864 Commission*, p. xxvii.

tions as George Watson's Hospital . . . endeavouring to assimilate the condition of the young people to that of children in the outer world, and of maintaining and fostering, as far as possible, the ties, attractions, and virtues of home."

The Report of the Argyll Commission and that of the Merchant Company led to the passing of the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act, 1869, enabling governors and trustees of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions to apply to the Home Secretary for Provisional Orders to make provision "for the better government and administration of the Institution over which they presided," and for the better "application of the revenues thereof, whereby the usefulness and efficiency of the Hospitals and Institutions might be increased, and the benefits thereof extended." The Merchant Company in the same year (1869) applied for and obtained Provisional Orders enabling it to throw open its Hospitals as day schools at which not only could founders get free education, but other children could get a good elementary and secondary education at a moderate cost. This example of progressiveness was imitated by others. The Governors of Heriot's Hospital applied for a similar Provisional Order, but it was not granted by the Home Secretary, as the law officers of the Crown had come in the interval to the conclusion that the powers of the Act did not cover such schemes.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to pass an Act conferring the necessary powers, and finally in 1872 the Endowed Schools and Hospitals Commission was appointed, with Sir T. E. Colebrooke as chairman, to inquire into all educational endowments in Scotland (except those founded in connection with the University before 1808, which had been reported on by the Universities Commission of 1858), and into the hospitals and schools supported by them. It continued its inquiries for three years, and its Third Report was published

in 1875. This Report laid before Parliament a mass of valuable information and statistics regarding the endowments and the state of secondary education generally, and concluded with a series of recommendations regarding reforms of endowments in the interests of secondary education inasmuch as the necessities of primary education had been met by the Education Act of 1872. Some of their recommendations were as follows:—

I. *With regard to Hospitals*—

1. Charity founders should in general be boarded out in families.
2. Hospital Schools should be thrown open to all at moderate fees as Day Schools, the instruction being adapted to the circumstances of the locality in which each foundation is placed.
3. The number of charity founders should generally be reduced, and in some cases contributions towards their maintenance should be required.
4. A considerable proportion of the places on each foundation should be thrown open to competition among boys who have completed a course of primary instruction either in schools connected with the foundation or elsewhere.

II. *With regard to Endowments for Higher Instruction*—

1. Inasmuch as provision had been made by law (1872 Act) for elementary but not for secondary schools, the Commission recommended that, where the reasonable objects of any foundation can be attained without expending the whole revenue, the surplus should be applied to promote higher instruction in the vicinity of the foundation, either by directly aiding secondary schools, or by the establishment of bursaries to be held at such schools, or by improving the higher instruction in public schools in the country districts.
2. Bursaries tenable at secondary schools should be the reward of merit.

Then follow recommendations with regard to Mixed Endowments, University Endowments, removal of restrictions

in favour of particular names or families, or in favour of members of particular churches either as beneficiaries or as teachers, and the representation of local interests on the Governing Boards of Endowments.

Finally, as the powers of the Colebrooke Commission were limited to inquiring and reporting, it recommended that an Act should be passed conferring the necessary powers on a temporary Executive Commission. It suggested that this Commission be authorised to take the initiative in preparing schemes dealing with the constitution and administration of trusts, which, if opposed, should not become law until they received the final approval of Parliament.

Accordingly, in 1878, an Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act was passed appointing a Commission of seven, under Lord Moncrieff as chairman, to remedy the defects discovered in the Act of 1869. The Act of 1878 did not go quite so far as the Colebrooke Commission had recommended. Initiative rested not with the new Commission but with the Governing Bodies, who might apply for Provisional Orders to the Home Secretary. The application could be remitted by the latter to the Commission for inquiry and report, and any Order drafted by them had to receive the sanction of Parliament. The Commissioners were also directed by the Act to report to the Scotch Education Department on the best means in their opinion of utilising the Parliamentary Grant for Public Education in Scotland for the purpose of promoting education in the higher branches of knowledge in public and State-aided schools, especially in those districts in which there were no secondary schools.

The Commissioners in reporting on this part of their remit pointed out that according to Scottish ideas there was no limit as to the nature or extent of the education that might be given in a parochial or public school, and that it was highly desirable to maintain this standard of education consistently with the

due training of every child in the country in the elementary branches. They stated their opinion that it was not only possible to combine in one and the same school thorough elementary teaching with instruction in the higher branches, but that, on the contrary, any separation of these subjects would be detrimental to the tone and injurious to the work of the school, and discouraging to the teacher. Although it might be desirable to establish secondary schools in populous centres for the further education of children who had shown their ability at the ordinary public schools, it was not possible to establish any such means of higher instruction for the great majority of children attending the public schools throughout the country generally.¹ Hence they recommend that in every parish there should be at least one teacher qualified to give instruction in the higher subjects, and that a larger grant should be given for a pass in a higher stage of any subject than was given for a pass in a lower.²

Thirty-one applications for Provisional Orders involving alterations in the government or administration of endowed institutions were submitted to the Moncrieff Commission for inquiry. The annual revenue from the endowments concerned amounted to £38,340, not including the interest on the price of the buildings. Parliament was recommended to pass several of the Provisional Orders, including those for Gordon's Hospital (Aberdeen), Schaw's Hospital (Prestonpans), and Stiell's Hospital (Tranent), in all of which the system of residence was to be discontinued, and Gordon's Hospital was to be converted into a secondary day school or college. It was recommended that the applications of Heriot's Hospital, and Madras College (St Andrews), be refused in their present form. As the Commissioners had no power

¹ *Final Report of Moncrieff Commission* (1881), p. vii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

to institute inquiries or propose reforms except upon the application of the Governing Bodies, the outcome of the 1878 Act was comparatively small.

To remedy this want of initiative another Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act was passed in 1882, which provided for the appointment of a new Commission of seven members with Lord Balfour of Burleigh as chairman. The Act was only applicable to educational endowments bequeathed prior to 1872, when the Education Act establishing universal elementary education was passed. University endowments were excluded from the operation of the 1882 Act. The duties and powers of the Commission were carefully defined in the Act.¹ The Commissioners were instructed in the preamble of the Act to carry out in each case more fully than was being done the spirit of the founder's intentions, and, so far as may be, to make an adequate portion of such endowments available for affording to boys and girls of promise opportunities for obtaining higher education of the kind best suited to their advancement in life. The Commissioners were to have special regard to making provision for secondary, higher, or technical education in public schools, or otherwise, in those districts to which the endowments belonged, so that the children of the poorer classes might enjoy the benefits of a complete education according to their ability. In any proposals regarding the making of a selection from amongst those eligible for the benefit of any particular endowment, they were to pay due regard to merit ascertained by examination or otherwise as they might determine. As far as it could be fairly done, the benefits of endowments were to be extended to both sexes.

The Commissioners continued their labours for seven

¹ *Seventh Report (1890) of the Balfour of Burleigh Commission*, p. vi et seq.

years, and they finished their Seventh and Final Report on 31st December 1889. They stated that in making their recommendations, the principle they always acted upon was that the relief of the poor through educational endowments should be given in the form of educational opportunities, and not in the form of a payment in relief of the general rates in which many besides the poor would participate. The Commission during the seven years submitted to the Education Department 379 schemes dealing with 821 endowments, having a total annual revenue of about £200,000. They reviewed, indeed, the administration of every educational endowment in Scotland which fell under their jurisdiction. Where necessary, they submitted proposals for the reorganisation of each endowment, always with a view to preserving the just rights of beneficiaries, and to making the benefits of higher and technical education accessible to the poorest in the land.

There is no doubt that the appointment of this Commission marked an important step in the development of secondary education in Scotland, and that the educational institutions of the country as a whole derived great benefit from the thoroughness with which the Commissioners carried out their arduous duties. The reforms they recommended made available a large additional revenue for higher education. But such education required not only funds but almost complete reorganisation to secure its efficient working, and we shall see in future chapters how successive Acts of Parliament and Departmental Minutes were passed to that end.

The Secretary for Scotland appointed on 9th April 1927 a Departmental Committee, with Lord Mackenzie as chairman, "To consider the present position as regards the administration and application of educational endowments in Scotland . . . and to make suggestions as to the powers which should

be given to any Executive Commission that Parliament may set up to deal with these endowments, the principles which should be laid down for the guidance of the Commission in the exercise of those powers, the scope of its operations, and any alternative purposes to which endowment funds might usefully be applied." The time was opportune for such an inquiry. Endowments require to be reviewed from time to time in order to ensure that they are fulfilling the aims of their founders under the altered circumstances of the present day. Moreover, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act has created a new educational situation, and, if the country is to derive the full benefit from it, additional funds as well as reorganisation are necessary, especially for higher education. The investigations and report of the Departmental Committee should be helpful in all these directions.

Before concluding our remarks on endowments, we may pass in review some of the more outstanding educational bequests of the country.

The Rev. Dr Andrew Bell,¹ a native of St Andrews and a graduate of the University in that town, left the greater part of his fortune in two large bequests for the purpose of benefiting the education of Scotland, and of carrying out his educational ideas on the monitorial system which he had gradually evolved, and considered "of importance to the whole human race." He offered in April 1831 to make over to the Town Council of St Andrews, for the benefit

¹ Dr Andrew Bell was born at St Andrews in 1753. After finishing his University education he went to India as a chaplain, and became superintendent of a male orphan asylum at Madras. Owing to scarcity of teachers he introduced a system of mutual tuition by the pupils, and he found it so successful that he advocated it as of universal applicability. He left his large fortune to found schools in his native country in which his principles of education could be carried into practice. His method, which he called the Madras System, was improved by Joseph Lancaster under the name of the "monitorial plan."

of the ancient grammar school, an estate with a rental of £400 a year, subject to the payment of an annuity to his sister. As he was old, he wished to get the matter settled without delay, and wrote to the Provost, "Be as good as answer yes or no; and write immediately by post, and send by the mail coach the necessary papers." The Council without hesitation accepted "the very liberal and munificent offer, and the laudable, important, and benevolent object which it aims at."

As negotiations proceeded, the above offer was modified to one of £50,000 for the erection and maintenance of a secondary school to be called "The Madras College of St Andrews." In the trust deed Dr Bell laid down a number of conditions, one of which was that "when the said College shall be completed, children of both sexes, and of whatever Christian persuasion their parents shall be, shall be taught in such branches of education, and either together or separately, as the aforesaid trustees, or their successors in office for the time being, shall seem fit, but nevertheless always upon the principles of the aforesaid Madras system, and that in such education particular attention shall be bestowed upon instruction in the principles of the Christian religion. . . ." ¹ Almost half of the bequest of £50,000 was spent in the purchase of between four and five acres as a site for the College, and in the erection of the school buildings and masters' and janitor's residences, the other half being invested to make provision for the working expenses of the school, upkeep of buildings, provision of bursaries, etc.

This gift of £50,000 was part of a total bequest of

¹ *Second Report of the Commissioners on Endowed Institutions in Scotland*, 1881, p. cccxii. et seq. See also *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed in 1864 to inquire into Schools in Scotland*, p. 41.

£120,000 conveyed in trust to the provost of St Andrews, the two ministers of the Town Church, the Sheriff-Depute of Fife, and their successors in office. It was directed that five-twelfths of the sum (£50,000) be devoted, as stated above, to Madras College, and one twelfth-part be transferred to the municipal authorities of each of the following towns, viz., Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Leith, and one twelfth-part to the trustees of the Royal Naval School, for the establishment and maintenance in each case of schools on the Madras system, and one twelfth-part to the provost, magistrates, and town council of St Andrews, "the interest and produce thereof to be by them applied towards the moral and religious improvement of that city, and such other useful and permanent works connected therewith as the said provost, magistrates, and town council should from time to time direct."¹

Another deed by Dr Bell conveyed the residue of his estate, amounting to about £25,000, to other trustees with the instruction that it should be applied "to the maintaining, carrying forward, and following up the system of education introduced by him, according to circumstances and occasion, and the existing state of things"; and he gave the trustees "ample power to interpret his will in the most liberal manner consistent with his views and objects."² The trustees gave considerable sums to different schools for the purpose stated, but when the 1872 Education Act came into operation there seemed no further occasion for such grants to schools. They had still £18,000 to dispose of. Considering the deep interest Dr Bell showed in the principles and practice of teaching, the trustees agreed to contribute to the foundation of a Bell Professorship in the

¹ *Report of Moncrieff Commission*, 1881, p. cccxi.

² *Third Report of the Colebrooke Commission*, p. 142, and Appendix p. 145.

Theory, History, and Practice of Education in Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities, and they suggested that in the part of his course dealing with the methods of instruction the Professor might "specially advert to the Madras system of education, and the aim and intention of Dr Bell in devising and promoting it." The two Chairs were instituted in 1876, and they were the first Professorships of Education founded in any English-speaking country.

Another important endowment not assigned to any particular institution is the Dick Bequest. It was founded by James Dick, a native of the burgh of Forres in Morayshire. He amassed great wealth in Jamaica and afterwards in London. He died in 1828 and left all his fortune, amounting to over £113,000, to be applied for "the maintenance and assistance of the country parochial schoolmasters in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, excluding the royal burghs; it being my wish to form a fund for the benefit of that neglected though useful class of men, and to add to their present very trifling salaries."¹ The annual income arising from the fund amounted to about £5000, and the testator in his will laid down certain rules to be observed in connection with the Bequest. "The income thereof shall be applied in such manner as not in any manner to relieve the heritors or other persons from their legal obligations to support parochial schoolmasters, or to diminish the extent of such support." The trustees were to distribute the income "in such manner as shall seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters, and gradually to elevate the literary character of the parochial schoolmasters and schools," and also "to pay great attention to the qualifications and diligence of the several parochial schoolmasters . . . in preparing youths for the said Colleges

¹ *Third Report of Colebrooke Commission*, 1875, Appendix, p. 113.

(*i.e.*, King's and Marischal Colleges, Aberdeen), taking care, at the same time, that the common branches of education are properly attended to at the said parochial schools."

Of the 156 parish schools in the three counties all except 21 fulfilled the conditions of the Bequest, and were awarded annual grants varying in amount from £23 to £49 according to the number of pupils enrolled, and the teacher's scholarship and practical ability. Because of increased returns from investments it has been found possible to raise these payments in recent years even to the larger number of participants now eligible. To ensure the "literary elevation" of the schoolmaster all candidates had to undergo an examination of a more severe standard even than University graduation in Latin, Greek, English Grammar and Literature, History, Geography, Mathematics, and Physics. Special success in the examination was rewarded by a higher grant. This examination test was abolished in 1890, University graduation or other evidence of sufficient scholarship being accepted in place of it. Part of the grant, too, depended upon the efficiency of the instruction given in the school as attested by an official Visitor appointed by the Trust, and a certain proportion of marks was assigned by him for "merit in teaching" not only elementary subjects but more particularly the higher branches. The grant, which was always paid to the schoolmaster, might vary in accordance with these factors from year to year.¹ The late Professor S. S. Laurie was appointed Visitor for the Bequest in 1856, and much of the beneficial influence the Bequest has exerted in such a marked degree on education in the three north-eastern counties was undoubtedly due to his guidance.

¹ The personal examination of the schools by the Visitor of the Bequest ceased also in 1890, and since then the results in elementary and advanced subjects as attested by the Inspectors of the Education Department have been accepted in the main in deciding the annual grant to the schoolmaster from the Bequest.

The new conditions introduced by the Education Act of 1872 greatly extended the operations of the Trust, for all the new public schools erected under the Act in the rural parts of the three counties were upon an equal footing as regards status with the old parochial schools. It became necessary, therefore, to make a selection of the schools to be admitted to the benefits of the Bequest. The number of schools in a parish that might be admitted to the roll of the Bequest was made to vary with the population of the parish. A primary condition of participation in the grant always was that the School Board must pay a certain minimum salary, and provide a suitable dwelling-house and garden or make an addition to the salary in lieu of them. Any payment of salary above the minimum might be accompanied by an increased grant from the Bequest.

The Dick Bequest has exercised an influence for good, far beyond its financial value, on education in the counties which share its benefits. The teachers and School Boards were stimulated by it to attain and retain the highest rate of grant, not for the mere money value of the award but as a mark of honourable distinction to the teacher and all concerned. The *Third Report of the Colebrooke Commission* says: "With such advantages, the general standard of attainments and efficiency has been raised higher among the teachers of elementary schools in these three north-eastern counties than in the rest of Scotland. They are all University men, and, with very few exceptions, graduates in Arts." And again: "Latin is taught in almost all the schools, and Greek in a considerable number."¹ No other rural schools in the country have sent such a large proportion of pupils straight to the University, or have produced so many men who have risen to eminence in all walks of life and in every part of the Empire. These Dick Bequest Schools have retained, more than any

¹ *Report, 1875, p. 121.*

others, the best features of the old Scottish parochial school system.

Another endowment which has played an important part in the history of Scottish Education is the Milne Bequest. It consists of a sum of about £50,000 left by Dr Milne, President of the Medical Board of Bombay, on his death in 1841. The conditions attached to the Bequest were in some respects similar to those of the Dick Bequest. In them we find abundant evidence of the old Scottish belief in the value of education, and of the desire to spread its benefits among the poor. In the Testimentary Deed executed shortly before he died, Dr Milne said :

“ It is education which chiefly constitutes the difference in the qualifications of mankind . . . I am naturally disposed to attach a high value to its powerful and enlightening influence, and feel anxious to enable it to diffuse a more genial and cheering ray throughout that part of a country which greatly requires such aid. . . . So small is the pittance of salary which is in general bestowed on the parish schoolmasters in Scotland, that little inducement exists for men of any talent or acquirement to engage in such an office. . . . It is therefore highly important that the situation of the parish schoolmaster should be improved, because it will induce men of ability and of education to engage in such a task. . . . Declaring always that the income of my said means and estate shall always be applied in such manner as not in any way to relieve the heritors or other persons from their legal obligation to support parochial schoolmasters, or to diminish the extent of such support. . . . I give and bequeath the annual interest on all my monies . . . to be bestowed in sums of £20 each to the most deserving parish schoolmasters within the county of Aberdeen (and the parish of Nether-Banchory in Kincardine) . . . always giving a preference to the most populous parishes and to the best attended schools. For the sums that may be granted, each schoolmaster to whom they are paid shall be obliged to educate, without fee, twenty-five poor children who could not otherwise provide the means of paying for their education, and that the selection of such children be made by the Kirk-Session of the parish.”

When the Education Act of 1872 was passed, it became the duty of the Parochial Boards to pay the fees of all poor children, and accordingly the Court of Session gave powers to alter the regulations so that the Bequest could be applied for teaching gratuitously the higher branches to poor children, as this necessitated their remaining longer at school, and, in order to facilitate the selection of teachers who should get the grant, stress was to be laid on "the extent of the acquirements of the scholars in branches not elementary, and the numbers learning those branches."

About eighty or ninety schools participated in the Milne Bequest, and a result of it and the Dick Bequest was that the headmasterships of parish and public schools in Aberdeenshire were regarded as prizes in the profession, and it was an object of ambition of distinguished graduates to gain one of these posts. Successive changes in the national administration of education rendered the above arrangements of the original Trust Deed of Dr Milne no longer desirable or necessary, and hence they were superseded in 1888 by a scheme prepared by the Balfour of Burleigh Commission. Under this scheme provision was made for paying off the life interest of the teachers who were receiving the grants, and for applying the total free income, then about £1000 a year, in establishing school bursaries of from £5 to £10 each to be awarded by competition among advanced pupils attending State-aided schools in the area specified by Dr Milne.

In earlier portions of this chapter reference has been made to the large number of educational endowments centred in Edinburgh and its vicinity. We have seen that the richest educational endowments in the country are those connected with what were called Hospitals. Details regarding the enrolment and revenue of the largest of these are stated

on p. 103, and from the information there given it will be seen that, with one or two exceptions, the Hospitals were situated in or near the capital. According to the Colebrooke Commission the total annual income of the Hospital endowments in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood was then £57,770.¹ These Hospitals have now generally been opened up, and they form some of the largest and most famous secondary schools in the world. They provide a thoroughly good secondary education at a relatively small cost to many thousands of pupils from all parts of the country and of the Empire. It is largely to these endowed schools in their original and present form that Edinburgh owes its eminence as an educational centre.

The Colebrooke Commission made a complete survey of the educational endowments, twenty-five in number, in the city of Glasgow.² At the date of their investigation the total amount of these endowments was approximately £355,000 and their annual revenue £22,000.³ The only schools concerned with these endowments which we need consider here are Hutcheson's Schools and Allan Glen's School. The incomes of the endowments of these were in 1875 respectively £10,698 and £1176. Hutcheson's Hospital consisted of two separate Bequests. One was made in 1639 by George Hutcheson for the foundation of an "Hospital or almshouse for as many aged decrepit men, of the age above fifty years, who have been honest of life and conversation, and are known to be destitute of all help and support." As George Hutcheson died in about a fortnight after the execution of this Deed, it was ratified by his only brother, Robert Hutcheson, in 1640, who also added to the benefaction a sum to build in connection with the Hospital "a commodious and distinct house, for educating and harbouring of twelve

¹ *Third Report*, 1875, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, Appendix, vol. i., pp. 245-362.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

male children, indigent orphans, or others of like condition and quality."¹ The children "shall all be burgess's sons of the burgh of Glasgow," and preference was to be given to those of the name of Hutcheson or Herbertson. The trustees obtained an Act of Parliament in 1872 empowering them to place a limit on the total amount to be paid to the aged pensioners and to increase the amount to be devoted to education. Meanwhile the value of the lands which constituted the Bequest increased owing to the extension of the city, and the trustees were able in 1876 to extend the school for boys at a cost of £26,000, and to build a school for girls. One was to be called Hutcheson's Grammar School for Boys, and the other Hutcheson's Grammar School for Girls, and both were intended to give free education to a limited number of foundationers, and to provide a secondary education to others at a moderate cost, as in the case of the corresponding schools in Edinburgh.

Allan Glen's School owes its foundation to a Deed of Settlement, dated March 1847, executed by Allan Glen, a wright of Glasgow. The testator declared his desire that a school bearing his name should be erected "for giving a good practical education to, and for preparing for trades or businesses, from 40 to 50 boys, sons of tradesmen or persons in the industrial classes of society." The school was opened in 1853 on a site which belonged to Mr Glen. The school was so successful that the accommodation had to be increased from time to time. By 1872 the numbers had reached 140. In 1876 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the reorganisation of the school, and now it is a large and thoroughly equipped secondary school with a strong scientific and technical side, specially designed for the training of boys preparing for industrial and commercial pursuits.

¹ *Third Report, 1875, Appendix, vol. i., p. 150.*

Dundee has some thirty educational endowments, and although many of them are small they amounted in 1875 to a total of £143,575, with an annual income of £5608.¹ A number of the benefactions had for their object the provision of bursaries to the High School, which was formed by the amalgamation in 1829 of the ancient Grammar School and an English School and the Academy, although the school did not receive its present name under Royal Charter till 1859. The only endowment of any considerable magnitude was called the Morgan Hospital. It was founded in 1861 by John Morgan, Edinburgh, who bequeathed a sum of £73,500 to found a Hospital in Dundee to accommodate 100 boys, orphans, and sons of tradesmen, and of the working class generally, who required assistance to educate their families. According to the original scheme no boy was to be admitted to the Hospital till he had attained the age of 7 years complete, or after he was 9 years complete, and he was to be allowed to continue in the Hospital only till he was 14 years of age complete. The instruction to be given was to be similar to that in good ordinary parish schools. The Hospital, which was to be called the Morgan Hospital, was opened in 1868. It was reformed by the Balfour of Burleigh Commission, and under the name of the Morgan Academy it is now performing a valuable part in the higher educational equipment of Dundee.

Aberdeen is relatively rich in endowments devoted to education. The Colebrooke Commission in its Third Report gives an account of seven separate foundations whose total endowments amounted in 1875 to £330,000. More than half of that sum belongs to Robert Gordon's College. Robert Gordon, the founder, was for a time engaged as a merchant in Dantzic, and afterwards in

¹ *Third Report of Colebrooke Commission, 1875*, Appendix, vol. i., pp. 363-426.

Aberdeen. He died there in 1731, and left a sum of £10,000 to build a Hospital for the maintenance and education of "male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants and brethren of the guild of the said burgh of Aberdeen, of the name of Gordon in the first place and the name of Menzies in the second place. . . . No boys shall be chosen who are under 8 years of age or over 11 years of age. . . . They shall have lodging, bed, diet, washing, and common fires allowed them, besides their being educated and taught in the manner aforesaid. They shall be decently apparelled in clothes . . . all of one colour and fashion. They may continue in the Hospital until they be fourteen, fifteen, or at most sixteen years of age complete, and thereafter they shall be put to merchandising or lawful trades and employments, according as their genius and inclination lead them, and there shall be given them the sum of ten pounds sterling as apprentice fee to a merchant, and five pounds sterling as apprentice fee to a tradesman. All to be bound for five years. . . . The Hospital shall be called, in all succeeding generations, Robert Gordon's Hospital."¹

The Hospital was fortunate enough to get two valuable additional endowments at a later date. In 1816 Alexander Simpson of Collyhill, Aberdeen, bequeathed a considerable sum in lands "for entertaining and educating in Robert Gordon's Hospital, or in any additional buildings to be added thereto, an additional number of indigent male children and male grandchildren of decayed merchants and brethren of the guild of the burgh of Aberdeen in the first instance, and, failing these, male children born in the said burgh, sons and grandsons of persons who have been residents in the said burgh of Aberdeen, who are indigent and cannot maintain themselves, to be received into the Hospital according to their necessity."

¹ *Second Report of the Moncrieff Commission*, 1881, p. cxliv., *passim*.

Robert Gordon's original endowment was, as we have seen, £10,000, but by 1875 it had increased in value to £164,417, and Simpson's Bequest was at the same date of the value of £44,000. In 1827 the Hospital received a further Bequest of £2000 by the will of George Hogg of Shannaburn.

The Governors made proposals for a Provisional Order to open up the Hospital as a day school in 1871 but were unsuccessful. They were more fortunate in 1881, when they got the requisite legal powers to convert the Hospital into a secondary day school under the name of Robert Gordon's College, with a curriculum strong in science as well as in modern and ancient languages. The number of foundationers was reduced, and they were required to pass an entrance examination. A number of bursaries were instituted to be competed for annually by boys belonging to Aberdeen and attending Robert Gordon's or other schools in the city. Evening Classes giving advanced instruction to youths and adults were also instituted.

The endowments of Stirling consist of Cowane's Hospital, Spittal's Hospital, Allan's Bequest, and Cunningham's Bequest. The first two were originally of the nature of almshouses for adults, but the assistance is now given in the form of outdoor pensions. Spittal's Hospital is said to have been founded in 1530 by Robert Spittal, tailor to King James IV., but the original deed has been lost. Allan's Mortification consists of 30,000 merks, bequeathed in 1724 by John Allan, a writer in Stirling, for the maintenance, clothing, and educating of poor and indigent male children of tradesmen belonging to the seven Incorporated Trades of Stirling. The children were at first housed in a building purchased for the purpose, and they were sent for their education to different schools in the town. But in 1797, with the assistance of the town and of the other local

endowments, a school was built, now called Allan's School, and for a few years the founders resided in the house above the school. Now the founders get financial assistance, and receive their education in Allan's School, or at the High School. Each of the first three endowments referred to above pays a certain sum towards the salaries of the teachers in Allan's School and Stirling High School.

In 1804 Alexander Cunningham, a merchant of Stirling, bequeathed a sum of £4000 and the residue of his estate for the maintenance, clothing, and education of poor boys of the Guildry of Stirling, who were thereafter to be put to business or trade in the same manner as boys under the Allan Bequest.

CHAPTER VIII

SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES AFTER THE REFORMATION

DURING the violent controversies and “tumults about religion” that preceded the Reformation the work of the three Papal Universities suffered, the number of students greatly diminished, and in Glasgow and Aberdeen the classes were temporarily broken up. Many of the regents adhered to the ancient religion and left their posts, but the majority embraced the reformed faith and continued their work under the new conditions. Aberdeen University seems to have held out more sturdily than the others against the reformed doctrines. Its teachers were called before the General Assembly in January 1561, and in the course of a few years the Reformers removed from office all whose protestantism was doubtful, and “effectually purged that nursery of learning.” Everything connected with the Roman Catholic faith in the work and organisation of the Scottish Universities was discontinued. We have seen the nature of the changes in the University system proposed by the Reformers in the First Book of Discipline, and although these were not adopted by the Scottish Parliament, they produced a permanent effect on the character of the Universities. The aim of the Universities, which hitherto had been mainly ecclesiastical, became largely educational, and after they had settled into their altered conditions the interchange of students with foreign Universities became larger than ever—a state of things that continued till at least the end of the eighteenth century.

The three Universities had suffered seriously from the appropriation and alienation of their funds during the turmoil of the Reformation. The friends of Glasgow University appealed to Queen Mary, and in 1563 she made a grant under the Privy Seal of certain lands and houses belonging to the Order of the Preaching Friars to found bursaries for the maintenance of five poor scholars while they were receiving their University education. A little later she made a grant of all the monastic property in Glasgow to the Town Council which, knowing "that the College had fallen into decay for want of funds, and the study of arts was nearly extinguished in it through poverty," bestowed on it in 1572, on the advice of James VI., rents from the above grant sufficient to support fifteen students.

Of all the educational reformers after Knox, the most prominent were Andrew Melville and George Buchanan, and we may follow best the important developments which took place in the Universities at this time if we study the part these two men played in them. The acceptance by Melville of the Principalship at Glasgow in 1574, and the reforms he introduced there during the next six years, mark an epoch in the development of University education in Scotland. The story of the great work he undertook and accomplished is told in his Life by Dr M'Crie.¹ Finding himself faced with the gigantic task of carrying on the work of the University with the help of only one assistant who had been educated in the old school, his first problem was to train a number of young men who might in due course be qualified to become teachers in the University, or Regents as they were then called, and be able to co-operate with him in reorganising the instruction and administration of the University. So he began with a

¹ *The Life of Andrew Melville*, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D., vol. i., p. 71 et seq.

selected group of young men, who had been thoroughly grounded in Latin, and personally he took them through a six years' course of study including Latin, Greek, Logic, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Geography, Universal History, Hebrew, and Divinity. Twice a day during these years he lectured to them, and the encyclopædic nature of the course of study, and the number even of books to be read and commented on, show his wonderful erudition and the magnitude of his labours.

A sufficient number of progressive and fully-instructed regents having been reared in this way, Melville next set himself to remodel the teaching in the University. Hitherto it had been the practice in the Universities for all the students entering in the same session to form one class under one teacher, and to be conducted by him through their studies in all subjects till they graduated at the end of four years. Under such an arrangement no scholarship could be attained worthy of a University, and Melville took the first opportunity of abolishing it. Through his influence with Regent Morton a New Foundation for the University of Glasgow was obtained by Royal Charter in 1577. It is not necessary for our purpose to give its contents in detail. The chief provisions of the *Nova Fundatio* were the abolition of the regenting system in Glasgow, and the remodelling of the teaching in other directions. Under the powers conferred by the New Foundation, Melville appointed a separate teacher in each of the chief departments of the curriculum. The advantages of the specialisation of teaching thus secured were soon recognised, and the idea spread. It gave rise to a new spirit in University education, and created a revival in higher learning which showed itself in the creation of no fewer than three new Colleges or Universities before the end of the century.

Melville had contemplated the reformation in University

teaching ever since his settlement in Glasgow. In the year 1575 he had a conference with his friend Alexander Arbuthnot, the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and the two had agreed in principle upon the institution of the *Nova Fundatio* in their respective Colleges. In Aberdeen the necessary powers were secured in 1580, and the duties of the several teachers were assigned with great precision. The changes met with much opposition, and the consequent delay in putting the reforms into operation had some effect in causing the rival Marischal College to be founded.

We have to trace next the steps by which developments took place in St Andrews University—the oldest and, at that period, the most important of the Scottish Universities. In 1563 a petition was presented to Queen Mary and Parliament stating that “the patrimony of some of the foundations, particularly those of St Andrews, was wasted, and that several sciences, and especially those that were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, to the great detriment of the whole lieges, their children and posterity; and praying that measures should be taken to remedy these evils.” A Commission, of which George Buchanan was the most prominent member, was appointed by Parliament to visit the three Colleges at St Andrews and report as to the best means of remedying their backward condition. It recommended a plan for embodying the same general principles of University organisation as those in the First Book of Discipline. One College in St Andrews was to be devoted to teaching languages, another to philosophy, and a third to divinity in all its branches. But the political unsettlement of the times was unfavourable to such reforms, and nothing was done. The next step was the appointment by Parliament in 1578 of Commissioners to visit and consider the state of all the Universities. Again no reforms followed. In 1579

another Commission was appointed to consider reforms desirable in St Andrews University. Melville and Buchanan were among the Commissioners, who were authorised to examine the foundations of the Colleges, to reform what tended to superstition, to remove unqualified and instal qualified persons, to change the form of study, and to annex each Faculty to such College as they thought proper. The Commission laid before Parliament a complete scheme of reform which was ratified in November 1579.¹ The scheme enters into great detail, which we need not specify, as it was only very partially carried out. It introduced into St Andrews the principle of the *Nova Fundatio* of each professor teaching only one subject, as had already been proposed and partly carried out in the sister Universities. The general scheme of reforms embodied, no doubt, the ideas of Buchanan, who had been Principal of St Leonard's for four years—1566 to 1570²—but according to James Melville its proposals were chiefly due to his uncle, Andrew Melville.³ They reproduced the *Nova Fundatio* and many of the other innovations that had been introduced by the latter into Glasgow University five years previously.

¹ *Acts of Scottish Parliament*, vol. iii., pp. 178-182. McCrie's *Life of Melville*, vol. i., p. 240.

² George Buchanan drew up an interesting scheme for the reform of the University of St Andrews which was printed in 1570. There was to be, first of all, a six years' course taken in the "College of Humanity," corresponding largely to the modern secondary school. From the first, all were to be required to speak Latin and to write a Latin theme daily. In the fourth year they were to begin Greek, and in the two following years to read Homer and Hesiod. The pupils were then to be admitted to the "College of Philosophy," or University proper, and after two years' study of dialectic, logic, and moral philosophy, they could receive the degree of Bachelor. After a further year and a half devoted to metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy, they were to be eligible for their *licencia* corresponding to M.A. (See S. S. Laurie's *Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, p. 34.)

³ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 58, *passim*.

In December of the following year, 1580, Melville became Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews. He strongly desired to continue the work he had begun in Glasgow, but a letter to the General Assembly from James VI. made acceptance of the new post inevitable. His teaching attracted many students to his classes, including Robert Rollock, soon to become the first Principal of Edinburgh University. But the drastic reforms prescribed by the Act of Parliament which he had been instrumental in securing made his task in St Andrews no light or pleasant one. The advanced nature, too, of some of his lectures on theology increased the clamour against him. But before he had been many years at St Andrews his beneficial influence on the development of the University, and in the study of Arts, Philosophy, and Theology, became apparent.

There had been an awakening, as we have said, to the importance of the higher learning throughout Scotland, and this spirit displayed itself in the foundation of three new Universities in different parts of the country. The first was that of Edinburgh. The three Universities established by Papal Bull in the previous century owed their existence to the influence of the Bishops of the respective Sees. But Edinburgh was not the seat of a Bishopric, and to this probably is due the fact that, although the capital, it was not provided with a University at the same period as St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. As soon as the Reformation was complete, the municipality of Edinburgh, in co-operation with the reformed clergy in the city, attempted to get a University established,¹ but they were opposed by the heads of the Episcopal Church, then in the ascendancy, who did not wish a rival to the three Universities under their official protection.² When, with one of the

¹ *Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh*, 23rd April 1561.

² M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 282.

numerous swings of the ecclesiastical pendulum, Episcopacy fell from power, the General Assembly in 1579 revived the proposal for founding a College in the capital.¹ This encouraged the Town Council to renew its appeal for a Royal Charter, and the Charter was granted by James VI. in 1582. In the previous year, the Council had purchased the site of the Collegiate Church of Kirk-o'-Field, and on it the Town's College was built. The expense of the building was met partially by a sum of 4000 merks which the municipality obtained, after an appeal to the Privy Council, from a Bequest made by Robert Reid, the last Roman Catholic Bishop of Orkney, who died in 1558. This was the only part the Town Council was able to recover from a total legacy of 8000 merks the Bishop had left in his will "to buy a site in Edinburgh for founding a College for the exercise of learning."²

The Provost, Magistrates, and Council lost no time in putting the Royal Charter into operation. In 1583 they appointed Robert Rollock, one of the most scholarly men in the country and one of the Regents of St Andrews University, to be the first Principal and Regent of the College. His salary according to the contract was to be forty pounds Scots, *i.e.*, between £3 and £4 sterling, in addition to the fees to be paid "by the bairns" or students attending the classes. Under him the College made rapid progress, and soon four Regents were required.

It will be observed that the University was quite different, not only in its origin but in its constitution, from the sister Universities. The appointment of the staff, the regulations regarding the course of study to be followed, and the con-

¹ *Records of Town Council*, 24th April 1579.

² *Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh*, vol. ix., p. 207. A full account of Bishop Reid's legacy is given in M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii., p. 283. A counter proposal was to apply the legacy to build a College in Orkney.

ditions for attaining degrees were made not by the University authorities, as might have been expected, but by the Town Council. Their power to do so was confirmed by an Act of Ratification of the Charter in 1621 which gives, grants, and dispenses to the Provost, Bailies, Council, "and their successors . . . Patrons of the said College, and of the Rectors, Regents, Bursars, and Students within the same, all liberties, freedoms, immunities, and privileges appertaining to a free College." The University of Edinburgh was thus not an independent institution like the three older Universities, but in all important respects as to curriculum, and even the appointment and dismissal of professors, was subject to the municipality. Such a state of affairs was bound to lead to collisions and litigation, and in an action in the Court of Session it was decided that, as the law stood, regulation and control did not belong to the University authorities but to the Town Council. The University Commissioners of 1826 endeavoured unsuccessfully to introduce a new constitution of the University to remove the anomalies to which we have referred. But it was not till the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858, was passed that Edinburgh University obtained a constitution similar to those of the other three Universities. The administration of its internal affairs was given by that Act to the Senatus subject only to the control of the University Court, and the appointment of professors was given to seven Curators of Patronage, of whom four were nominated by the Town Council and three by the University Court.

Another University proposed and actually started on its brief career was that of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire. In 1592 Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth founded a College or University there for the higher instruction of youth in the northern part of the Kingdom, and James VI. gave a grant of lands and conferred the powers and immunities

usually belonging to Universities. Five years later (1597) the Scottish Parliament passed an Act ratifying the permission "to found ane universitie, big, and mak collegis, place maisteris and teachearis."¹ The Act mentioned with commendation the liberality of the founder, and gave a further grant of neighbouring church lands for its support. Charles Ferme, one of the first graduates of the College of Edinburgh and for several years a regent there, was appointed Principal of the new University and at the same time minister of the parish of Fraserburgh. For five sessions the work of the University seems to have gone on, and then it suddenly ceased amid the recurrent ecclesiastical troubles between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. For taking part in the General Assembly which met in Aberdeen in 1605 against the wish of the King, Ferme was imprisoned, and as no successor in the Principalship was appointed the University came to an end, unnoticed amid the distractions caused by the alternations of Church government. For nearly two centuries after that, a part of the College buildings stood intact—a quadrangular tower of three stories—and the street in which the College buildings stood is still called College Bounds.²

Marischal College in Aberdeen was founded in the year after Fraserburgh University, and no doubt that circumstance lessened the need of the latter, for not even the intellectual appetency of these north-eastern parts could support three Universities in one county. The new College was founded by George, Earl Marischal, under Royal Charter in April 1593, and he assigned as his reason for establishing it the desire to remove what he deplored as a serious evil—the deficiency of literary and Christian education. Also, he seems to have been disappointed at

¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 147-8.

² Pratt's *Buchan*, p. 271.

the long delay of King's College in adopting the *Nova Fundatio* like the other two Universities of the time. The staff of the new College according to the Deed of Foundation was to consist of a Principal, three teachers denominated regents,¹ and six alumni or bursars. The Principal was to be a person of piety and integrity, skilled in learned languages, particularly in Hebrew and Syriac. He was required occasionally to teach Theology, to give a short explanation of Anatomy, to illustrate the more difficult parts of Physiology, to teach the principles of Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy, and, as if this were not enough, there was added to it instruction in Hebrew grammar and construction.² Such were the encyclopædic demands of the time. The regents were each to teach particular subjects, and not take students in a class through all their subjects as was common.³ All bursars were to reside in the College. For other students residence there was optional, but they were to be subject to the same strict discipline at meal and play times as the others. Bursars were to wear a distinctive dress, and to perform certain domestic duties. The classes were to go on for practically the whole year, the vacation which had insidiously crept into the neighbouring King's College being explicitly deprecated.⁴ Entertainments upon conferring degrees were expressly forbidden. In the Act of Parliament of July 1593 ratifying the foundation of the College, reference is made to the Town Council's gift to the College of the monastery and garden which had formerly belonged to the Grey Friars of Aberdeen, and the institution

¹ It was not till 1620 that a fourth regent was appointed.

² *Report of 1826 Universities Commission*, p. 343.

³ This continued till 1642, when for some reason regenting was restored.

⁴ The Founder's words were : "Volumus ne intermissione studiorum et moribus et literis damnum afferatur, omnes consuetas a studiis vacationes penitus aboleri."

is granted "all the freedoms and privileges that belong to a free College, providing always that the masters, members, students, bursars, and all the inhabitants of the said College, are, and shall be in all time hereafter, subject to the jurisdiction of the Provost, Bailies and Council of the said burgh of Aberdeen in all things to be done or committed by them outwith the walls of the said College."¹ Till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, the monastery of Greyfriars, to which we have referred, was with slight alterations the only building available for the work of the College.

Obviously the desirability of uniting into one University two Colleges within a mile of each other, each teaching the same branches to comparatively small classes, and maintaining separate staffs of professors, was bound to arise in course of time. As a matter of fact, it became a subject of consideration at an early period. In 1641 a Charter for union was passed by Charles I., and confirmed by Act of Parliament. The two Colleges in Old and New Aberdeen were to form one University to be called "King Charles's University," and for a short time it actually went under the title of *Universitas Carolina*. For a few years co-operation of some kind between the Colleges seems to have taken place, although each College retained its own administration. The causes which led to the dissolution of the union are obscure. Probably the violent political unsettlement of the time had much to do with it; at any rate the two establishments drifted apart and became once more practically distinct. The Universities Commissioners of 1826 strongly recommended the union on educational and economic grounds, pointing out that thereby the educational facilities could be rendered more extensive and complete, and in particular that a full medical school could be established.

The union into one University and College under the

• ¹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 35.

name of University of Aberdeen was ultimately brought about by the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, and became effective in 1860. The Commissioners appointed by the Act recommended that the classes in the Faculty of Arts, with the exception of Natural History, and the classes in the Faculty of Divinity, and the Library, should be located in the buildings of King's College, and those in the Faculties of Law and Medicine, and also the Class in Natural History, should meet in Marischal College. This was the arrangement actually in force till recent times.

The chief reforms in connection with the Scottish University system took place as the result of the recommendations of several Commissions appointed during the course of the nineteenth century. The first of these that need be mentioned is the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland, appointed in 1826, with Lord Rosebery as chairman. The immediate cause of the Commission seems to have been a petition to the Crown by the Senatus of the University of Edinburgh arising out of the difficulties of its relationship with its patrons, the Town Council. If a Commission were to be appointed to consider this matter, it was thought well that it should visit not Edinburgh only but all the Universities. The Commissioners sat for four years, and their General Report, which was published in 1831, is one of the most valuable sources of official information regarding the constitution and history of each of the Scottish Universities.

Reference has been made above to the suggestions of the Commission for the union of the two Colleges in Aberdeen. The Commission in the course of its inquiry received a request in 1829 from Sir Robert Peel to consider in all its aspects a proposal by the trustees of a Mr John Crichton, of Friars Carse, for the establishment of a University or College at Dumfries. The Commissioners reported their opinion "that

the establishment of a University at Dumfries would conduce to the propagation of sound academical instruction in Scotland, and that it would be of material advantage to the country that Your Majesty should accede to the proposal.”¹ The fund seems to have been devoted ultimately to other schemes in connection with Dumfries, including the foundation of an asylum for the insane.²

The Report of the 1826 Commission embodied an elaborate scheme for a uniform curriculum in Arts, leading to the degrees of B.A. and M.A. The former degree had fallen into abeyance, and the Report recommended that it should be revived and be awarded to those who passed the necessary examinations after a four years’ course (three years for those who gained exemption from first-year classes), in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Philosophy. The M.A. degree was to be awarded to those who passed the requisite tests after at least a further year’s study to include Natural History, Chemistry, and Political Economy, where there were such classes.³ These and other reforms recommended could not be carried out without legislation, and, as the attention of Parliament was soon engaged with the Reform Bill of 1832, no immediate result followed.

The passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858 is a landmark in the history of University education in Scotland. It reduced the number of Universities in Scotland to four by uniting the two Colleges in Aberdeen into one University. In addition to this, the Act introduced important changes in the constitution and administration and teaching in all the Universities. According to the Act, the administration of the ordinary affairs of each University

¹ *Report*, p. 85.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Article “Dumfries.”

³ *Report*, pp. 25, 39.

was to be entrusted to the *Senatus Academicus*, which "shall superintend and regulate the teaching and discipline of the University, and administer its property and revenues, subject to the control and review of the University Court." The latter was a new administrative body created by the Act, and its functions were to include power to review all decisions of the *Senatus Academicus*, and to be a Court of Appeal from the *Senatus*. It was to effect improvements in the internal arrangements of the University after due communication with the *Senatus Academicus*, and it was to fix and regulate from time to time the fees in the several classes. The Act created another new body in each University called the General Council. It was to consist of the Chancellor, the members of the University Court, the Professors, and of Masters of Arts and Doctors of Medicine who had attended the University for four complete sessions. The General Council was to have the right of electing the Chancellor of the University, and also of electing an Assessor as a member of the University Court. It was to hold two statutory meetings each year to take into "consideration all questions affecting the well-being and prosperity of the University, and to make representations from time to time on such questions to the University Court, who shall consider the same, and return to the Council their deliverance thereon." Finally, the Act appointed an Executive Commission under John Inglis, Lord Justice-Clerk, as chairman, to draw up conditions, to be uniform for all the Universities in Scotland, for "the courses of study, the manner of examination, and the conditions under which degrees are to be conferred." The uniform curriculum the Commissioners, who were appointed under the 1858 Act, prescribed by Ordinance for the degree of M.A., was that recommended by the 1826 Commission with the addition of English, viz., Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural

Philosophy, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and English. The length of the Arts course was shortened from four to three years for those students who passed an examination test for admission to the Senior Classes in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. The system of graduation as M.A. with Honours was introduced, and a student might take Honours in any one or more of four departments, viz. (1) Classical Literature; (2) Mental Philosophy (Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy); (3) Mathematics (Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy); (4) Natural Science (Geology, Zoology, Chemistry). The Commission abolished the degree of B.A.

The Commissioners were instructed by the 1858 Act "to inquire and report how far it may be practicable and expedient that a new University should be founded, to be a National University for Scotland," of which the existing Universities would become constituent Colleges. The suggestion is said to have come originally from Mr Gladstone. The Commissioners stated that "after mature and repeated consideration of this subject, we find that we are unable to report to Your Majesty that it is either practicable or expedient" that such a University should be founded.

In course of time a demand for further University reform arose, especially in the General Councils, and another Royal Commission was appointed in 1876 to inquire into the Universities of Scotland. Inglis, now Lord Justice-General and President of the Court of Session in Scotland, was once more nominated as chairman. The Commission got an extensive remit as to the matters on which it had "to make diligent and full inquiry."¹ It presented its Report in four volumes in 1878. It put forward sixty-one recommendations,² including an increase of the representation

¹ *General Report of Royal Scottish Universities Commission*, published in 1878, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152 et seq.

of the General Council and the Senatus in the University Courts; the creation of a General Universities Court for Scotland to act as a general Court of Appeal and to sanction new Ordinances; the institution of a "First Examination" to be passed before entering on a course for any degree; the introduction of the option to candidates for the degree of M.A. of specialising along any one of five lines of study, viz., (1) Literature and Philology, (2) Philosophy, (3) Law and History, (4) Mathematical Science, and (5) Natural Science; the revision of the conditions of retiral of Principals and Professors; the union of the University and Colleges of St Andrews into one corporate body under the name of the University of St Andrews. A large number of the reforms proposed could be carried through by Ordinances, but many of them required legislation. Bills based on the Report were introduced into Parliament in 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, and 1889, but not till the last year was legislation actually secured.

The Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, largely remodelled the constitution of the Scottish Universities. It laid down the composition and powers of the University Court and Senatus Academicus of each University, and it instituted a new administrative body, namely the Scottish Universities Committee of the Privy Council, to which all new Ordinances and all petitions from the Universities or persons directly concerned were to be referred. It appointed an Executive Commission, under Lord Kinnear as chairman, with the following and other powers:—To regulate the foundations, endowments, and bursaries held by any of the Universities; to determine the powers, duties, and privileges of all office-bearers in the Universities, and, in so far as is not stated in the Act, of the Senatus Academicus, the Faculties, the General Council, and the University Court; to draw up the conditions under which students shall be admitted to

a University ; to make provision for the instruction of women and their admission to graduation ; to regulate the salaries of principals, professors, lecturers and assistants, and the conditions and scale of pensions ; to lay down the constitution and functions of a Students' Representative Council in each University ; to establish a General University Court of the four Universities for considering matters affecting the general interests of the Universities ; to make arrangements for affiliating University College, Dundee, with the University of St Andrews with the consent of the two bodies concerned. The Commissioners were empowered by the 1889 Act to exercise their executive functions and to prepare Ordinances until 31st December 1891, and after that date the University Court of each University was given powers to draft Ordinances for the consideration of Her Majesty in Council.

The internal organisation of the Scottish Universities at the present day may be outlined, differing as it does in important respects from that of all other Universities in the Empire. It has been evolved in the course of the centuries, and its details, both on the educational and the administrative side, are to be found chiefly in the Acts of 1858 and 1889 we have been considering, and in the Ordinances drawn up under the powers conferred by these Acts.

At the head of each University is a Chancellor, who is elected by the General Council of the University without any limit in time to his term of office. He is always a personage of high position and influence in the country, and able not only to maintain the prestige of the University, but to aid in every way its development as a centre of learning. All Ordinances and all changes in University arrangements proposed by the University Court must first receive his approval. Degrees granted by the Senatus are

conferred by him, and he is chairman *ex officio* of the General Council.

Next in honorary rank comes the Lord Rector. He is elected triennially by the matriculated students of the University, who enter into the election campaign with great zest. During his three years of office the Rector acts as chairman of the University Court when able to be present, and it is his duty otherwise to further the interests of the student body and of the University in every way possible. At some period of his term of office he delivers a rectorial address, and the students see to it that the occasion is not lost for giving due expression to their high spirits.

At the head of the University staff is the Principal, who also generally holds the office of Vice-Chancellor. He is chairman of the Senatus Academicus, and presides over the University Court in the absence of the Rector, and over the General Council in the absence of the Chancellor and Rector. As the chief official, he has a large share in shaping the policy and guiding the affairs of the University, and this makes it necessary for him to have an intimate knowledge of academic problems. Prior to the Act of 1858, every Principal of a Scottish University had to be a clergyman of the Church of Scotland.

The University Court has the control of all the administrative and business side of the University. It has to meet very frequently, and accordingly it is a small body of little over a dozen members, including the Rector, the Principal, the Lord Provost and another member of the Town Council of the city in which the University is located, four Assessors elected by the Senatus, four by the General Council, an Assessor nominated by the Chancellor and one by the Rector. The Court is a corporate body, and in it are vested all the property and revenues of the University. It promulgates all Ordinances. It appoints most of the

professors and all the lecturers and examiners, and regulates their duties. It has the power of reviewing the decisions of the Senatus; it is, in short, the supreme authority in the academic hierarchy.

The Universities derive their revenues from the usual sources, namely grants, endowments, and students' fees. With the exception of £30,000 per annum from the equivalent grant of £265,000 which Scotland obtained (see p. 180) when England was given an annual subsidy to free its elementary education in 1891, all grants to the Scottish Universities come direct from and are regulated by the Treasury. These have increased greatly since the War. Prior to 1889 the total Government grant to the four Universities was only £17,000. Under the Act of that year it was raised to £42,000, and now it is more than four times the latter sum, in addition to assistance given from time to time in the shape of non-recurrent grants to meet urgent needs, and of special grants in aid of extensions and improvements of buildings.

Universities in Scotland do not get annual grants from the town or county councils, whereas several of the Universities in England and Wales get substantial aid from these authorities—sometimes to the extent of a penny in the pound of the assessed rental of their area. One reason for the difference in the two countries is that power to levy rates for educational purposes in Scotland is limited to the *ad hoc* Education Authorities. These have power under the Scottish Education Acts of 1908 and 1918 to assist in the maintenance of the Universities, but, so far, no applications for such assistance seem to have been made to them.

Endowments provide only a small fraction—less than a fifth part—of the income of the Universities in Scotland. The magnificent benefaction of £2,000,000 made to these Universities by the late Mr Andrew Carnegie in 1901 is

not an endowment in the ordinary sense. It is administered with great ability and success by a separate body of trustees, which, in accordance with the expressed wish of the founder, devotes half the total annual income of about £120,000 in defraying part of the class fees of qualified Scottish students, and the other moiety in improving and extending the Universities and providing the means of advanced study and research.

The next statutory body in the Scottish Universities is the Senatus Academicus. It comprises the Principal and all the Professors, and, since the passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1922, Readers and Lecturers to the extent of about one-fourth of the whole Senatus. Prior to the reforms effected by the Act of 1889, the Senatus Academicus was the governing body in each University, and performed practically all the duties now discharged by the University Court. But a large body composed, like the Senatus, entirely of members having heavy teaching duties is not a suitable one for such exacting administrative responsibilities, and accordingly the Act of 1889 limited its function to formulating and superintending the details of the teaching policy of the University, and to dealing with all matters relating to student discipline.

The General Council consists of the Chancellor, the members of the Court, all the Professors and Lecturers on the staff of the University, and all the registered graduates of the University. It is thus a widely representative body, and is keenly interested in all that concerns the welfare of *alma mater*. For these reasons it could be of great utility to the University, but its function, according to statute, is entirely advisory, although the Commissioners of 1876 proposed to give it representation in the Court of Curators in Edinburgh University, which at that time made the appointments of most of the Professors.

The Council meets ordinarily twice a year to consider any new Ordinances or regulations proposed in connection with the University, or other matters that may be submitted to it by the University Court.

The other advisory body in the University is the Students' Representative Council, familiarly known as the S.R.C. It is elected at the beginning of each session by the matriculated students in the various faculties. It originated as a student movement in the early eighties of last century, and first received official status under the Act of 1889. It has proved a valuable link between the students and the University authorities, and an important means of furthering the educational interests of the students and of promoting their social life and *esprit de corps*.

The ultimate tribunal and court of appeal in University matters is the Scottish Universities Committee of the Privy Council. It consists of the Lord President of the Privy Council, the Lord Justice-General, the Lord Justice-Clerk, the Lord Advocate, the Chancellors and Rectors of the four Universities, and one or two other members. It advises the King on all matters on which he may consult it, such as the passing or rejecting of all Ordinances, the founding of new Chairs, and the affiliating of Colleges to the Universities.

For the attainment of full success, Universities, even more than other institutions, must have the largest measure of individual liberty. Unfortunately, the Act of 1889 and the Ordinances drawn up by the Commissioners appointed by the Act bound the Universities rigidly together, so that one could make a forward move in its educational policy only by taking with it the other three. The organisation and curricula were made identical for all the Universities, and were laid down in minute detail in the Ordinances. So cumbersome was the procedure prescribed in Section 21

of the Act for passing a new Ordinance, or altering or revoking an existing one, that it was well-nigh as difficult to do any of these things as to pass a Bill through Parliament. Under present arrangements, when a University Court prepares an Ordinance, it must submit it in draft for the opinion of the *Senatus Academicus* and the General Council. The Ordinance is then readjusted, if necessary, and communicated to the other three Courts. If any one of these considers that the interests of its University would be adversely affected by the passing of the Ordinance, it intimates its dissent to the Court concerned and also to His Majesty in Council. The King refers the matter to the Scottish Universities' Committee of the Privy Council for a report. The Ordinance has also to lie on the table of both Houses of Parliament, and either House may present within twelve weeks an address to His Majesty praying him to withhold his assent. If this is not done, it is lawful for His Majesty in Council to declare his approval of the Ordinance.

It will be seen that the procedure just outlined is fruitful in opportunities of delay, if not of obstruction, and that little change can be made in a Scottish University unless there is practical unanimity of all parties concerned. Human nature being what it is, we know how seldom that can be expected. Instead of submitting an Ordinance to each of the other Courts in the manner prescribed, a better plan would appear to be to submit it to a small inter-University body of the nature of a joint-committee or council, and then Ordinances after passing such a body would go forward to the Privy Council as agreed documents. A joint-committee of this kind would be useful not only for dealing with Ordinances, but for considering matters affecting the University system as a whole, for maintaining uniformity of standard in the same degrees, for co-ordinating the activities of the

Universities, for developing specialisation of function in them, and for preventing unnecessary overlapping arising from the institution of small Faculties or Departments to do the same work in each of the Universities. These are the days of amalgamations for national purposes, and, by co-operation in some such way as has been suggested, the Scottish University system might be made to provide, with a minimum of expenditure, a comprehensive and complete scheme of higher learning for the whole country.

Indeed, as has already been stated (p. 142), the Universities Act of 1889 contemplated the institution of an inter-University body of this kind. Section 14 of the Act gave the Commissioners powers "to establish a General University Court of the four Universities, with a view to taking in review the general interests of the Universities, especially in regard to degrees and examinations, and with the duty of reporting to Her Majesty on new Ordinances, or changes in existing Ordinances, affecting all or any of the Universities, and with power to report to the Secretary for Scotland on matters connected with the Universities upon which they may deem it of importance to represent their views, or upon subjects which may be specially referred to them by the Secretary for Scotland." The Commissioners, for some reason, did not deem it expedient to issue an Ordinance establishing a General University Court. On several occasions in recent years the four Courts, of their own initiative, have sent representatives to joint-conferences, and the results that have been obtained, and the better understanding and spirit of accommodation that have resulted from the conferences, seem to show that there is room for a statutory body of the kind provided for in the Act.

The length of the University session was extended by

the Commissioners of 1889 from six months, between October and April, to twenty-five teaching weeks spread over ten months from October to July. Till then it had been possible, and indeed fairly common, for students of good ability but limited means to attend the University from October to April, and during the ensuing vacation of five months prepare themselves for their next classes and engage in some form of work which would provide them with the means of paying their fees and board during the following session. There is no doubt that the long vacation between sessions encouraged a type of student not uncommon till then in the Scottish Universities; but the extension of the session introduced by the 1889 Act was necessary to raise the standard of the work done in the Universities; and since that date additional means have been found, under the Education Acts of 1908 and 1918, of assisting needy and deserving students.

Another reform in the same direction was the institution of a University Preliminary Examination. The Act empowered the Commissioners to require students to pass such an examination "either on entering the University, or as a preliminary condition of entering on a course of study for a degree in any faculty, or of both such examinations." The Commissioners adopted the second course. But they instituted the Examination only after careful consideration. They were unwilling, they said, to exclude the deserving type of student, sometimes from the poorest classes of the community, who had been such an admirable feature of the Scottish Universities, and who had not had an opportunity at school of preparing for a University course, either because they had made up their minds to proceed to the University after they had been working for a time at some other avocation, or because they came from districts of the country not yet provided with good

secondary schools. To assist such students in their preparation for the Preliminary Examination after they had entered the University, the Commissioners retained the Junior Classes (non-qualifying) in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics; but no student could enter upon a graduation course until the Preliminary Examination had been passed. In instituting the Examination, the Commissioners used words that do not seem to have weighed sufficiently with those who have come after them. They said: "We believe this to be the best arrangement that could be made in the present condition of secondary education in Scotland. But we should think it far from satisfactory if it were to be regarded as final and permanent. The object of all such arrangements should be to secure that, before he begins his University course, a boy should have been for a certain number of years under good and trained teaching. This cannot be secured by a mere examination. . . . In this respect, therefore, the regulations we have framed may be usefully revised when good secondary schools have been made available throughout Scotland. But at present we must be content to guard the graduation classes by an examination test irrespective of school training."

These are words of sound educational doctrine, but for thirty-four years the Preliminary Examinations were continued practically unaltered, although they had been acknowledged to be out of harmony with changes that had taken place in the work of the schools on the one hand, and in the requirements of the Universities on the other. The degree course in Arts in all the Universities underwent radical reform in 1907, but still the Preliminary Examination remained the same. But after long controversy an Ordinance was passed in 1918, establishing a new Universities' Entrance Board with powers to frame regulations for admission to graduation courses in any Faculty. For some seven

years the Board was able to make little headway, largely because of the irreconcilable demands of multifarious bodies outside—the four Courts, Senates, and General Councils of the Universities, and all concerned in secondary schools whether as governors or teachers. After several unsuccessful attempts the Board passed Regulations, which came into force on 1st February 1927, for a general test of fitness for admission to a graduation course in any Faculty in a Scottish University. According to these Regulations, pupils from schools in Scotland must possess a Group Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department showing passes in at least four of the following subjects, not less than two of which must be passed on the Higher Standard :—

- I. English (including Literature and History).
- II. Mathematics, Science.
- III. Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Gaelic.
- IV. Art, Music, Applied Science.

Pupils from places outside Scotland may be admitted if they hold certificates of equivalent standard from certain specified bodies.

Applicants for admission to the Scottish Universities either from within or without Scotland who, owing to exceptional circumstances, are unable to comply with the above Regulations must pass an examination in four of the following subjects, taking at least two subjects on the Higher Standard :—

- I. English (including Literature and History).
- II. Mathematics, Physical Science.
- III. Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Gaelic, or any other language approved by the Entrance Board.

After having satisfied these conditions, the candidate is admitted within the portals of the University as a graduating student, but the Senatus has the power under the 1918 Ordinance to apply any additional examination test it may prescribe for admission to any particular Faculty or Class.

The graduation courses in all the Faculties except Divinity were reorganised by the Commissioners appointed under the 1889 Act. In Arts, the reign of the once sacred seven—Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and English—was brought to an end in 1892 by an Ordinance of the Commissioners. With a view to making the curriculum more adaptable to individual tastes and aptitudes, and to encouraging more specialised study in certain subjects, an elaborate system of options was introduced. Also the new conditions for graduation were made the same in all the Universities. But in 1907 an Ordinance was passed allowing each University to frame its own degree courses in Arts. Edinburgh reduced the number of separate subjects for the ordinary degree from seven to five, “of which two shall be studied for two academic years . . . provided that it shall be in the power of the Senatus, with the approval of the University Court, to reckon courses in two cognate subjects as two courses in one subject.” Unfortunately, much of the good that might have accrued from the concentration on fewer subjects was lost by allowing a very wide choice of “cognates” and “options.” It has been contended, and to some extent justly, that the M.A. degree has lost in consequence much of its distinctive character, and further, that some of the courses of study by which it may be taken are of doubtful educational value. The Universities are alive to these criticisms, and they are generally obviating any such objections by restricting students to a choice not of subjects but of curricula, each so drafted

as to be of sound educational content, and to offer no "soft options."

A later Universities Act, that of 1922, has effected three important reforms in the northern Universities. Prior to that date the arrangements for the superannuation of Principals and Professors were totally inadequate, and no provision whatever was made for pensions to the large body of Lecturers. Under the powers conferred upon them by the Act mentioned, the Courts have arranged that all Professors appointed after the passing of the Act and all Lecturers will come under the same system of pensions, namely, the Federated Superannuation Scheme, by which the beneficiary contributes to the Scheme annually 5 per cent. and the University 10 per cent. of his salary. As the Scheme is in operation in all the Universities and many Colleges in the United Kingdom, it will allow greater freedom to a Professor or Lecturer to pass from one sphere of work to another.

Again, until 1922 a Principal or Professor might remain in his post as long as he chose, or until the University could afford him a superannuation allowance from its limited funds for the purpose. There was no need for a continuance of this unsatisfactory state of affairs after superannuation had been put on a proper basis; accordingly, the 1922 Act gave power to each University Court to fix an age limit at which Principals and Professors appointed after the Act came into force must retire, and an age limit for all the other members of the teaching staffs. The limit fixed by the different Universities varies from 70 to 75 in the case of Principals, and from 65 to 70 for the other members of the staffs.

The third reform under the Act was the improvement of the status of the Readers and Lecturers, who form something like four-fifths of the whole teaching force of the Scottish

Universities. They were now admitted for the first time as members, *ex officiis*, of the General Council of the University in which they were teaching. In consequence of their numbers they could not all be made members of their Faculty or of the Senatus, but the Courts were given power to admit a certain number of them to these bodies. Further, as the Senatus or the Council may send them as assessors to the University Court, the way is now open for Lecturers to take their due place in all the administrative functions of their University.

In considering the position as we find it in the Scottish Universities, it is natural to compare them with their sister Universities south of the Border. Even on a cursory glance, one cannot fail to be struck by the large number of Universities in Scotland relatively to the population, and by their equitable distribution which places them within easy reach of students from all parts of the country. Until 1860, when King's College and Marischal College were united, Aberdeen had as many Universities to herself as had at that time to serve for the whole of England and Wales. This large supply of the University element has had a great influence in stimulating the intellectual interests of the Scottish people.

The expenses of a University education in Scotland have probably doubled within the last generation, but even yet they are considerably less than in the institutions of like age in England. In Scotland the class fees for an ordinary M.A. course amount to about £16 per annum, and in addition to this the student has to maintain himself during the teaching session of twenty-five weeks. Many students are getting an education at one of these northern Universities for a total outlay per session of considerably less than £100, whereas tuition and residence in one of the great

English Universities cost not less than three times that figure.

As a result of these two factors, accessibility and cheapness, to which should probably be added a third—the belief of the average Scottish parent in the benefits of a University education—it is the case that Scotland can compare favourably with any country in respect of the proportion of its inhabitants of all ranks attending the Universities. When the Argyll Commission on Scottish Education reported in 1867, it stated that 16 per cent. of the students attending the Universities were sons of artisans and skilled labourers. The percentage of men and women students from working-class homes seeking a general University education is hardly less to-day, and the Universities are still democratic in the best sense. Every possible assistance is given to deserving and necessitous students. In addition to a large number of University bursaries and scholarships open to competition, the Education (Scotland) Acts of 1908 and 1918 empower Education Authorities to grant maintenance allowances to students from their area attending a University. Further, the Carnegie University Trust devotes, as already stated, some £60,000 per annum towards paying a part—about one-half—of the University fees of qualified students who make application and are natives of the country. It is estimated that as many as 70 per cent. of all the University students from Scotland are assisted by the Trust in this way.

These are points of comparison which appear to be on the whole favourable to Scotland, but there is a debit side of the account. In the first place, there is less individual instruction in the Scottish Universities, and more lecturing to large classes than in the older English Universities. Generally speaking, it is the case that in most of the Faculties except Medicine and Science it is possible to get a degree

by simply attending lectures, doing well in the class examinations, and passing the written degree examinations in the subjects. The Universities are fully alive to the advantages of individual instruction, but they are hampered by the lack of endowments, like those of Oxford and Cambridge, for the support of a tutorial system. With the resources at present at their command, the Scottish Universities are meeting the situation to the best of their ability by devoting a certain number of class meetings each week—generally three—to lectures, and the remainder to meeting in groups for tutorial purposes.

The Universities in Scotland suffer from the further disability of having relatively few endowments for Research Fellowships, and consequently there is less research or post-graduate study in them than in the great English Universities. In spite of their handicaps in this respect, the northern Universities are doing a great deal to encourage advanced studies, and each year many post-graduate students earn various doctorate degrees for original contributions to higher learning. The Carnegie University Trust, too, as we shall explain presently, does much to foster research by awarding about £18,000 a year, partly as Scholarships and Fellowships to selected graduates who devote themselves exclusively to special study and research, and partly as payments to part-time researchers who are also part-time University lecturers or assistants to professors.

But while study and research are the chief, they are not the only functions of a University. There are other things almost as important as formal education in the life of a student. For complete training, the social no less than the intellectual side of his nature has to be cultivated. Study and hard reading there must be, but one of the great things one gets at a University is “the impact of young mind upon young mind,” and the communion of kindred

and eager spirits. So Universities, in these days, must make full provision for social intercourse and corporate life in common rooms, gymnasia, playing-fields, and students' unions with their recreation-rooms and common dining-halls. In these respects, and in the matter of residential halls, the Scottish Universities cannot vie, as yet, with the older English Universities, but they are making rapid headway. They are developing generally, not along the lines of the residential collegiate system of Oxford and Cambridge, but of hostels with adjacent playing-fields outside the University grounds. The Carnegie Trust is giving most valuable assistance to the movement. Recently it gave a grant of £20,000 to St Andrews University to help in erecting hostels for men students, half that sum to Edinburgh University for hostels for men and women students in addition to a previous loan, and £20,000 to Aberdeen University towards a Men Students' Union.

In a history of education it may not be out of place to mention what many consider a defect in the Scottish Universities, namely, that in only two of them—Edinburgh and St Andrews—is there a Professorship in Education. A Chair was founded in each of these Universities with the assistance of the Bell Trust in 1876 (p. 114), and since that date no further Chairs in Education¹ or Psychology have been established in Scotland. There are Lectureships in the subjects, but considering the great developments taking place in the scientific treatment of education and cognate subjects, and the rapidly increasing number of Professorships in them in the Universities in England, America, and the Continent, and the effect such studies have on the whole educational system of the country, the Scottish Universities

¹ In 1893 a Lectureship in Education was instituted in the University of Aberdeen, and a year later similar provision was made in Glasgow University.

should recover the lead they established in founding the first Chairs of Education in 1876, by the institution in each University of a Faculty of Education with the full equipment of Chairs necessary for the scientific treatment of the subjects according to modern ideas.

Any account of the Scottish Universities would be incomplete without a reference to the magnificent Bequest which is administered by the Carnegie Universities Trust, and which is doing untold good to higher education in Scotland. In June 1901, Mr Andrew Carnegie, a native of Dunfermline, who had made a large fortune in the United States, signed a Trust Deed placing a sum of two million pounds sterling under the administration of a Board to be known as "The Carnegie Trustees for the Universities of Scotland." The interest on the capital amounts to over £120,000 per annum. Clause A of the Trust provides that: "One-half of the net annual income shall be applied towards the improvement and expansion of the Universities of Scotland in the Faculties of Science and Medicine; also for improving and extending the opportunities for scientific study and research, and for increasing the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of History, Economics, English Literature, and Modern Languages, and such other subjects cognate to a technical or commercial education, as can be brought within the scope of the University curriculum, by the erection and maintenance of buildings, laboratories, class-rooms, museums, or libraries, the providing of efficient apparatus, books, and equipment, the institution and endowment of Professorships and Lectureships, including post-graduate Lectureships and Scholarships, more especially Scholarships for the purpose of encouraging research."

Clause B provides that the other half of the annual

income shall be devoted to the payment of fees of "Students of Scottish birth or extraction, and of sixteen years of age or upwards, or Scholars who have given two years' attendance after the age of fourteen years at such Schools and Institutions in Scotland as are under inspection by the Scotch Education Department; and that they may be recognised as deserving and qualified, they must also have passed in the Leaving Certificate Examination of the Scotch Education Department, or the Scottish Universities' Preliminary Examination, or other examination recognised by the Scottish Universities' Joint Board of Examiners in such subjects and grades and under such conditions as the Executive Committee may from time to time determine. . . . Any surplus remaining in any year shall be applied under Clause A."

Clause C provides that any surplus under Clause A may be expended on Lectures in commercial centres for evening classes or otherwise as the Trust may determine.

In the year 1925-26, the payments under Clause A were as follows:—(1) A sum of £39,700 distributed among the four Universities for the improvement of their equipment, and about one-sixth part of that amount to extra-mural institutions for higher learning. (2) A sum of £14,000 divided among the Universities for the endowment of post-graduate study and research in four forms:—(a) Research Fellowships each of the annual value of £250; (b) Research Scholarships each of £175 a year, (c) Grants to Professors and others in aid of research; (d) Grants to part-time Carnegie Teaching Fellows who while teaching in the University must devote not less than one-half of their time to research.

In the same year, under Clause B of the Trust, a sum of £57,200 was expended in part-payment of the class fees of 2877 men students and 1834 women students. The

demands on this part of the fund have become so great that the Trustees have made a regulation that the parent or guardian of each applicant be required to make a confidential statement of the financial circumstances of the family for the consideration of the Trustees before they make their award.

In the Session 1926-27 the total number of students attending the Scottish Universities was 11,040, and they were distributed as follows:—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
St Andrews (including Dundee University College) . . .	414	286	700
Glasgow	3,292	1,489	4,781
Aberdeen	871	550	1,421
Edinburgh	2,921	1,217	4,138
Total	7,498	3,542	11,040

Women students were admitted to graduation courses for the first time in 1892, and they form now nearly one-third of the total number of students. They enter all the Faculties, even Divinity and Law, and they are in a clear majority in the Faculty of Arts. As illustrating the distribution of students among the various Faculties, the enrolment in the University of Edinburgh in Session 1926-27 may be taken:—

Faculty.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Arts	956	969	1,925
Science	603	76	679
Divinity	96	3	99
Law	235	15	250
Medicine	1,016	132	1,148
Music	15	22	37
Total	2,921	1,217	4,138

Newman, speaking of the part a University should play in the educational system of a country, said: "It aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at refining the intercourse of private life. . . . It shows a man how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them . . ." It may justly be claimed for the Scottish Universities that they are fulfilling these wide demands as successfully as the Universities in any country. But to perform to the full extent the aims set forth by Newman, the Universities, not only in Scotland but in all lands, must do more for those who desire education of a University character, not for the sake of degrees or professional qualifications, but simply from an interest in the higher things of the mind, and who can afford to be only part-time students while continuing to follow their ordinary vocations. Past experience and the success that has attended the University Tutorial Classes of the Workers' Educational Association in England and Scotland show that there is a genuine and fairly widespread demand among workers for education of a University standard.

The Adult Education Committee, presided over by the late Master of Balliol, recommended in its Final Report in 1919 the establishment, as part of our national system of education, of University Departments of Extra-Mural Adult Education to be maintained by specific grants-in-aid by the Treasury. The present may not be a suitable time for increasing the burdens, on any large scale, on the national Exchequer, but the Universities in Scotland are ready to meet demands upon them in the direction indicated whenever

they are granted the means of doing so. They have shown their willingness to respond, so far as they can, to the nation's needs and to widen their *clientèle* by going out to meet it if it cannot come to them.

In addition to its four Universities, Scotland possesses a number of highly equipped Colleges for advanced instruction in technical, industrial, commercial, agricultural, and veterinary subjects, and in art and domestic science, etc. There are at present sixteen of these Colleges in Scotland, and their number is being increased from time to time, the most recent proposal in this direction being to institute a national College of Music in Glasgow. These Colleges are established in suitable centres over the country, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley, Coatbridge, etc., and they are known as Central Institutions. In their respective spheres they are doing work of a University standard, and valuable research work is being carried on in their laboratories. In some instances, attendance at certain of their classes counts for University degree purposes, and the teachers sometimes hold the status of University Professors. Such co-operation between the Central Institutions and the Universities is increasing, and thereby unnecessary overlapping of work and duplication of equipment are being obviated. The Central Institutions have their own Boards of Governors, on which various public bodies and the Education Authorities in the district are represented. They are supported partly by endowments, but mainly by Government grants¹ administered by the Scottish Education Department, except in the case of the Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges which are within the administrative sphere of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland.

¹ See *Central Institutions (Scotland) Grant Regulations* (published by H.M. Stationery Office. Price 1d.)

In addition to the more advanced work to which we have referred, the Central Institutions are conducting valuable commercial, industrial, and trade Day and Evening Classes, and are thereby supplementing to an extent that is indispensable the work of the continuation class system of the country.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION ACT OF 1872 AND ITS EFFECTS

As the nineteenth century advanced it became increasingly evident that the parochial school system, although national in character and established by law, was inadequate to supply the needs of the country for education. It did not meet the wants of the burghs nor of the outlying parts of the highlands and islands. Even in rural districts, out of some 4450 schools there were only 1130 parochial schools, the others, such as the General Assembly schools, schools maintained by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, subscription schools, and proprietary and private adventure schools, being supplied by voluntary efforts. The inefficiency of the system is still more evident if we consider the matter from the point of view of the school population. There were in Scotland at that time about half a million of children of school age. Of these, over 90,000 were at no school, and were growing up in a state of ignorance harmful to themselves and dangerous to the community. Even of the 400,000 at school, only about half were at schools whose efficiency was tested by inspection. It was because of this unsatisfactory state of affairs that the Argyll Commission was appointed in 1864 to inquire into the schools in Scotland.

The Commission made the fullest possible investigations, and in its Second Report, which was published in 1867, it pointed out the chief defects of the existing school system.¹ There was want of organisation. There was no Central

¹ *Second Report*, 1867, p. xliv et seq.

Authority to decide where new schools should be placed, with the result that the supply of schools was haphazard and miscellaneous. There was a surplus of competing schools in some districts, and in others the supply of educational facilities was insufficient or entirely awanting. The inspectors of the various denominations which supplied the majority of the schools in the country were disposed, as might have been expected, to take into account only the schools of their own denomination.

There was obviously a want of supervision by some strong central authority, something of the nature of a Board of Education: "At present," said the Commissioners, "schools spring up where they are not required, and there are no schools where they are required. The buildings may be good or they may be unsuitable. The school apparatus may be adequate, or there may not be a bench to write at, or a blackboard or map throughout the length and breadth of a whole district. The teachers may be good, or they may be utterly incompetent; they may be wealthy men, or they may be starving; they may be under official supervision, or the entire management of the schools may devolve upon themselves, and they may be responsible to no one. The children may attend school, or they may not attend, but grow up in absolute ignorance. All these evils are due to want of organisation, and suggest the necessity of some central authority to regulate the education of the country."

All this pointed clearly to the urgent need of a general system of national education, administered by a central body invested with powers to establish, wherever required, public schools to which every parent would be entitled to claim admittance for his child. The opinion of the country was ripe for some measure, with the State taking the place of the Church as the official agent of education, and embodying

the new principles of universal compulsion, popular local control, general local assessment, and undenominational religious instruction. The question of providing religious instruction is not dealt with in the body of the 1872 Act, but the preamble states that such instruction has always been a feature of the Scottish schools, and therefore it was expedient that the managers of the public schools should be at liberty to continue the custom of giving such instruction to children whose parents did not object thereto.

There had already been an attempt at legislation as early as 1862.¹ As an outcome of the Report of the Argyll Commission, Bills embodying the above principles were introduced in 1869 and 1871, but they were not carried. Finally, a Bill was piloted successfully through the House of Commons by Lord Advocate Young, and it became the historic Education (Scotland) Act of 1872—a more advanced measure in many respects than that passed two years earlier for England and Wales. The English 1870 Act provided for elementary instruction only, and excluded from parliamentary grants schools giving secondary instruction, and this restriction had to be removed at a subsequent date by legislation. The term “elementary school” is alien to Scotland, and the 1872 Act was simply an Act “for the education of the people.” In the preamble of the Act the aim is stated to be “to amend and extend the provisions of the law of Scotland on the subject of education in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland.” The scope of the education which might be given in the public schools was under no limitations, and might be as high as any given in the old parish schools. Indeed, Section 67 of the Act expressly

¹ Craik's *The State and Education*, p. 143 (1884 edition).

enjoins "that due care shall be taken by the Scotch Education Department, in the construction of such Minutes, that the standard of education which now exists in the public schools shall not be lowered, and that, as far as possible, as high a standard shall be maintained in all schools inspected by the said Department." In virtue of this power, the existing public schools and those established under the Act carried on, by means of State aid, the traditions of the parish school system, and began to develop advanced and higher departments, teaching what were called "specific subjects," for which special grants were made. These subjects in many cases included only the initial stages of unrelated branches, but, on the other hand, sometimes these advanced departments of the elementary schools, especially in the larger towns, were able to give instruction which, in range and quality, was not far behind the secondary instruction given in the grammar and burgh schools.

For the administration of national education the Act created a new central authority and nearly a thousand local authorities. The former was the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland — more briefly called the Scotch Education Department—which acted under the same Committee of the Privy Council for Education as the Committee of Education for England and Wales, and was presided over by the same Lord President and Vice-President. This new body, the Department, was to administer the parliamentary grants for education in accordance with a Code of Regulations which had to be submitted for approval to both Houses of Parliament every year, and to conduct an annual inspection of the schools.

For the purposes of local administration the country was mapped out into 984 districts which corresponded generally to the parishes and burghs. The education in each district was to be managed by a School Board to be elected triennially

by a cumulative vote of all persons whose names were on the Valuation Roll as owners or occupiers of property of the annual value of £4. The parish and burgh schools and all other schools established under previous Acts of Parliament had to be transferred to the School Boards, which thus, in the management of these schools, superseded the heritors and ministers on the one hand, and the town councils on the other. The Boards were also authorised to accept the transference of any other grant-earning schools, and within a few years practically all the State-aided schools in Scotland, with the exception of those connected with the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Churches, and the Practising Schools of the Training Colleges, were transferred to the School Boards.

But even after the Boards had inherited or accepted in this way the schools in the existing system, there were still deficiencies to be made good in the existing supply of the means of education, and the Act made the Boards responsible for the provision of sufficient accommodation in the public schools for all children of school age. The Act introduced compulsory attendance.¹ It declared that "it shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic for his children between 5 and 13 years of age," and it was the duty of the School Board to prosecute him if he did not do so. If unable from poverty to educate his child, he should apply to the Parochial Board for aid. Teachers were to be appointed and paid by the School Boards, and to hold office during their pleasure. The Boards were to receive

¹ Opinion in England was not at that time ripe for the principle of compulsion, and consequently it did not find a place in the English Education Act of 1870. Even under the Scottish Act, if a School Board did not choose to use its powers of compulsion, the Education Department possessed no authority to compel it to do so. In this matter each Board was responsible only to its constituents.

and disburse the Government grant, and they were given powers in addition to levy local rates for the support of the schools, and to borrow money upon the security of the rates to defray the costs of building and equipping them.

Under the 1872 Act elementary education became universal, and advanced by leaps and bounds. Unfortunately the Act had not a similar effect on secondary education. Section 62 provided that the existing burgh schools in which the education given was not chiefly in elementary subjects but in the higher branches of education were to be called Higher Class Public Schools.¹ School Boards having the management of such schools were enjoined, so far as practicable and expedient and subject to the approval of the Education Department, to relieve them of the necessity of giving elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic by providing sufficient accommodation for such instruction otherwise, so that the funds of such higher class schools and the time of the teachers might be devoted more exclusively to instruction in the higher branches. The object of the Act in thus seeking to separate the two classes of schools was obviously to establish distinct grades

¹ A Schedule of the Act specified eleven of these Higher Class Public Schools, viz.—Aberdeen Grammar School, Ayr Academy, Dumfries Academy, Edinburgh High School, Elgin Academy, Glasgow High School, Haddington Burgh School, Montrose Academy, Paisley Grammar School and Academy, Perth Academy, and Stirling High School. It was provided in the Act that any burgh or parish school managed by a School Board and doing mainly secondary work might at any time rank as a Higher Class Public School if the Board wished and the Department approved. Advantage was taken of this Clause by Forfar Academy, Brechin High School, Kirkcaldy High School, Peebles High School, and several others. Indeed, soon the eleven increased to three times that number. The official designation of such schools chosen by the 1872 Act was not a happy one. It suggested a social distinction between the two classes of schools, and in course of time it was dropped even in official Minutes in favour of the more appropriate and descriptive title of "secondary school."

of national education leading from elementary through secondary education to the Universities.

While these higher class public schools were under the management of the School Boards like the elementary State-aided schools, they were in terms of the Act under different conditions in important respects. Secondary teachers did not require to be certificated, the sufficiency of their qualifications being left to the School Boards; the secondary schools were to be examined in the higher branches annually not by the Government Inspectors but by examiners (frequently University professors) appointed and paid by the School Boards. Furthermore, these schools got no share of the Government grant, nothing from the local rates except for the payment of examiners, and the only power the Boards were given in connection with their financial aid was that of borrowing on the security of the rates for the erection (not for the repair or equipment) of such schools. In short, the only means of support these schools had were endowments, if any, or contributions they received from the Common Good of the Burgh, and pupils' fees which were fixed by the teachers with the approval of the School Board, and were paid into a common fee fund for division among the teachers as the Board might determine.

Thus, while elementary education was organised and provided for by the Act, secondary education was almost totally devoid of such organisation, and without the means of efficient development. While the Act proposed a separation of elementary from secondary education, a procedure which was foreign to the tradition of the country, it did not connect the secondary school organically with the elementary school on the one hand nor with the University on the other. Provision for the secondary education of the country after the passing of the Act was made in three ways—the higher departments of the State-aided

elementary schools, the higher class public schools controlled by the School Boards, and higher class schools managed by authorities other than School Boards. But the three were competing agencies. There was no co-ordination between them, and no provision for a common standard of attainment in them till this was secured by the introduction of the Leaving Certificate Examination, which did much to bring them into line.

Successive Royal Commissions drew attention to the deficiencies of the 1872 Act in these respects. The Colebrooke Commission reporting in 1875, said: "Provision of the amplest kind has been made by law for elementary instruction. By means of rates, parliamentary grants, and fees, elementary schools have been, or are in the course of being, established and supported throughout Scotland. The Universities are aided from year to year with Imperial money. . . . But while the elementary schools and the Universities are thus fostered by the State, and enriched by individuals, the secondary schools which ought to fill the gap between these institutions, are left to starve. Parliament has not granted them any aid, and private benefactors, who deal liberally with the Universities, forget the source that supplies the objects of their liberality."¹

The Moncrieff Commission appointed in 1878 adverted on the proposal mentioned above of the 1872 Act to separate elementary and secondary education. It said: "We are of opinion that it is not only possible to combine thorough elementary teaching with instruction in the higher branches, but that any separation of these subjects is detrimental to the tone of the school, and dispiriting to the master. It seems to us that although it may be desirable to establish secondary schools in certain populous centres for the further advancement of children

¹ *Third Report of the 1872 Commission*, p. 109.

who have shown their ability at the ordinary public schools, it is not possible to establish any such means of education for the great majority of children attending the public schools in the districts to which our inquiry has special reference.”¹

Even more emphatic is the Report of the Balfour of Burleigh Commission appointed in 1882, which said: “The Education Act of 1872 was undoubtedly the means of diffusing elementary education much more widely, but it made no provision for secondary or higher class schools, and did little to strengthen the upper standards in the public schools. School Boards and teachers had no real inducement to provide education beyond the stage which the law declared to be compulsory, and poor scholars had little opportunity for pursuing their work beyond that stage.”²

These and other defects of the 1872 Act have been remedied to a large extent by subsequent legislation, and the developments which have taken place in school education in Scotland since that period have been in harmony, in the main, with the ideals of the Commissioners just quoted.

¹ *Report* published in 1881, p. vii.

² *Seventh Report*, 1890, p. viii.

CHAPTER X

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

THE guiding principle underlying the public support of education is that education is partly a national and partly a local responsibility, and that accordingly the cost should be met partly by national taxation and partly by local rates. At the present time the amounts derived from the two sources are approximately equal.¹ The State's contribution is really a "grant in aid" to assist and encourage the popularly elected Education Authorities to provide the necessary facilities for education. The State provides for the inspection of schools in order to ensure their efficiency, but it leaves the supply of schools and the internal management of them to local control, and it is also the duty of the authorities on the spot to devise and put into operation schemes of education suitable to the locality. This division of financial responsibility gives scope for freedom of experiment and local initiative, which would be impossible under an entirely centralised system. On the other hand, the central supervision and inspection of the Education Department ensures a high and fairly uniform standard in all localities.

Prior to 1908, as will appear later, quite a number of State grants to education were made at various times and

¹ The Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for the year 1925-6 shows that rather more than 56 per cent. of the total expenditure from public sources on education in Scotland comes from State grants, and nearly 43 per cent. from local rates.

under different Acts of Parliament or Departmental Minutes; but by the Education (Scotland) Act of that year, these various grants were pooled into one national fund to be known as the Education (Scotland) Fund. By the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 it was decided that there should also be paid into this Fund each year the sum voted by Parliament for education in Scotland. Till then the amount thus voted had varied from year to year according to the estimates of the educational needs of Scotland for the year, but by the 1918 Act the actual expenditure in the year 1913-14 was taken as the standard sum to be paid annually into the Education (Scotland) Fund. In the event of the education vote to England and Wales any year exceeding the amount paid to them in the standard year, then Scotland was to be entitled to a sum equal to eleven-eighthieths of the increase.

From the total Education (Scotland) Fund thus constituted, certain first charges are met for educational services of a national character. The remainder of the Fund for the year is disbursed among the 37 Education Authorities in the country in accordance with regulations laid down in Minutes of the Education Department approved annually by Parliament.¹ The regulations, which vary but slightly from year to year, are skilfully devised to encourage each Authority to keep the essential aspects of education in an efficient condition in the area administered by it. The number of pupils enrolled in primary or secondary schools or continuation classes under the Authority is important, and part of the grant depends on that. The number of teachers employed by the Authority in these schools or classes is also important, and is taken into account in calculating the grant. It is essential that each Authority

¹ See *The Education Authorities (Scotland) Grant Regulations*, published annually by H.M. Stationery Office (price 2d. net).

should contribute its share in maintaining the supply of students in training, and its grant accordingly depends partially upon this.

Knowing in this way the amount of Government grant it will receive, as well as the amount that will accrue from fees or other sources of income, each Education Authority estimates the additional amount necessary to meet its expenditure for the year, and notifies the Town or County Council of the sum required.¹ The Council includes this in the rates for all purposes to be levied for the year, and pays over the "education rate" received to the Education Authority.

For a clear understanding of the present educational position in Scotland it will be necessary to trace the growth of the system of grants we have just outlined. The first parliamentary grant for the promotion of education in Great Britain was made in 1833. The great Reform Bill had been passed in the previous year, and no doubt it suggested to the Government the necessity of doing something for the education of the people, and of removing the large proportion of illiteracy among the voters. The sum granted was only £20,000 and, as there was no Government machinery for its administration, it was handed over to the two bodies which then represented organised educational effort in England—the National Society (connected with the Church of England) and the British and Foreign School Society (undenominational), and a Treasury Minute laid it down that the money was to be disbursed by them on the erection of school buildings. A similar sum was voted in the following years, and, as it was evident that annual grants to education had come to stay, a new Government Department for education in England, Wales, and Scotland was created called the

¹ Prior to 1927 the notification was sent to the Parish Councils, which levied both the education rate and the rate for poor-relief.

Committee of the Privy Council on Education, with the Lord President of the Privy Council as its head, and a permanent Secretary—Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, one of the most enlightened educationists of the time. The sum was increased to £30,000, and at the same time the right of inspection was claimed, and thus the system of State inspection was initiated. The scope of the grant was gradually widened to include such items as the building of houses for teachers, the provision of school furniture and apparatus, and the building of training colleges, capitation grants for pupil-teachers and for students in training. At the same time schools were admitted to grants even when they were not connected with the two Societies mentioned above.

The annual amount of the grant rose rapidly, and in a quarter of a century it was no less than £663,400. Alarmed at the steady increase, the Government appointed a Commission in 1858, under the Duke of Newcastle, “to inquire into the state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures were required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.” It sat for three years, and reported in 1861. One definite achievement of the Commission was the introduction of the notorious system of payment by results. It reported adversely on the teaching, and recommended, as the only way of increasing the efficiency, the institution of a testing examination in the three R’s of every child in every school to which grants were paid. Thus only could it be ascertained, said the Report, whether the elements of knowledge were thoroughly acquired.

The system was introduced into England by the Revised Code of Mr Robert Lowe in 1862. All previous grants on school building, apparatus, etc., were to cease, and only an annual grant of 12s. for each child was to be paid to the

managers, viz., 4s. for each child in average attendance, 8s. on each pass in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but one-third was to be deducted for each subject in which a child failed. Such a method might have succeeded up to a point in certain forms of industry where the product is capable of exact and easy measurement, and where the quality may not be spoiled by the workman aiming at maximum output. But as applied to education it was at once viewed with grave misgiving by nearly all authorities, such as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who warned the public from his retirement, and Matthew Arnold, who, in his Reports as an Inspector of Secondary Schools, spoke of "the deadness, slackness and discouragement" of the Revised Code and its system of payment by results. The system had the effect probably desired by those responsible for drafting the above remit, for it reduced at one step the contribution from the national exchequer to education by 25 per cent., but it did so at the cost of true education. It was based on the idea, fundamentally wrong, that children are of equal capacity, that they are all placed in equally favourable environment, and that they develop at the same rate.

Teachers were forced to build on these false suppositions, for percentage of passes was the test of their efficiency. The mental sustenance provided by the system consisted of instruction in the three R's in their barest form. Other subjects essential to education, being non-grant-earning, were either neglected or not taught at all. The education and outlook of many of the children were utterly ruined. Fortunately the Scottish schools were exempted in 1864 from the Revised Code so far as payments to elementary schools were concerned, but the Inspectors were directed "strictly to inspect and examine the schools in Scotland according to the forms and instructions of the Revised Code." Scottish education suffered from the system till Scotland got

an Education Department of its own in 1885, with Mr (afterwards Sir) Henry Craik as its first Secretary. In the very next year the Scottish Code did away with all traces of the system in the lower standards, and in 1890 abolished it right through the elementary school. Class examination was put in place of individual examination, and at the same time the curriculum was enriched by the introduction of such subjects as English, history, and geography.

Reference was made in the last chapter to the impoverished condition of the secondary schools after the passing of the Education Act of 1872. It will be necessary to trace the successive steps by which the State came to the aid of secondary education. In 1878 an Education Act was passed to improve the attendance at elementary schools by restricting the employment of children, and a section of the Act empowered School Boards to maintain buildings for higher class public schools out of the Government grants, and to meet "such other expenses for the promotion of efficient education as are not provided for in Section 62 of the Act of 1872," subject, however, to the approval of the Education Department. This seemed a veritable Magna Charta to these schools, but unfortunately legal opinion obtained by the Department revealed that while the terms of the Act covered assistance given in defraying the expenses of examining a school by H.M. Inspector or other person appointed by the Department, and in paying retiring allowances to teachers of higher class schools, it did not cover one of the most important items for the efficiency of the schools, namely, the salaries of the teachers. Thus the Act was largely ineffective.

Another unfortunate example of the miscarriage of an intention to bring substantial help to higher education was the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act, 1887. By it School

Boards were empowered separately or in combination to establish technical schools to which only those might be admitted who had satisfied the compulsory clauses of the 1872 Act. A difficulty arose as to what was included under "technical instruction," which was not defined in the Act. Owing to this, and to the fact that contributions by School Boards for such instruction were only permissive, the Act was practically a dead letter. It was amended by Acts of 1890 and 1892.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, had far-reaching effects, for it ultimately led to free elementary education. The Treasury had handed over the proceeds of the Probate and Licence Duties in aid of local taxation. Scotland's share was estimated at £247,000 a year, and, in response to the wishes of the Scottish members of Parliament, the 1889 Act empowered the Education Department to devote the sum to the relief of school fees. Accordingly, by a Minute in August of that year the Department utilised the money in the form of a Fee Grant to the School Boards for the remission of fees of pupils below Standard IV., and for the partial remission of fees in Standards IV. and V.

In the following year a further sum of about £40,000 came to the Scotch Education Department from the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890. The money was applied by the Department to free entirely the next two Standards, namely IV. and V. Finally, by a Minute of 11th June 1891 elementary education was freed for all children between 5 and 14 years of age, and in 1893 for all children between 3 and 15—the same as in England.

The same Act of 1890 assigned to England, Wales, and Scotland a large sum annually out of the Customs and Excise duties. Owing to the source from which the money came it was popularly called the "Whiskey Money." It

was originally intended for the compensation of publicans for loss of licence. When the House of Commons would not agree to this, a large part of the money was devoted to police superannuation, and the "residue"¹ was allocated to Burgh and County Councils for the relief of the rates, with, however, the power, granted on the motion of the Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland, to devote the whole or any part of it to "technical education within the meaning of the Act of 1887." This raised the old difficulty as to the proper interpretation of the words quoted, and in 1892 an Act was passed amending the Act of 1890, and defining more exactly the meaning and limits of technical education. Scotland's share of the Residue Grant varied according to the amount raised each year by the Excise Duties, but the average amount was about £60,000 per annum. To the credit of the Councils it may be said that they have devoted the greater part of the money to education, and generally only about one-third of it to the relief of the rates.

Two years later a most welcome subsidy came to Scottish education in an unusual way. Scotland, as we have seen, began in 1881 to institute free elementary education out of money obtained from Probate and other duties, while England was devoting its corresponding monies to relief of taxation. But by the English Elementary Education Act of 1891 a grant was made to meet the cost of providing free elementary education in England and Wales. Scotland claimed an equivalent sum, and by the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, there was paid annually to Scotland a sum of £265,000 (popularly known as the Equivalent Grant) or such other sum as would be the equivalent of the new fee grant to England. This windfall to Scottish education enabled certain educational grants to be augmented, and by the Act £30,000 per annum of the sum was assigned

¹ Hence the grant was generally known as the "Residue Grant."

to the Universities, and £60,000 to provide and encourage secondary education in urban and rural districts. A first charge on the latter sum was to be the cost of the inspection of secondary schools, and of conducting the examinations for the Leaving Certificates granted by the Scotch Education Department. As this required about £3300, it left almost £57,000 a year to be disbursed on secondary education under Minutes of the Education Department.

In order to find the best means of distributing the latter sum, the Department appointed a Committee under Lord Elgin to conduct inquiries and report. On its recommendation, Secondary Education Committees were appointed for each county and for each of the five largest burghs—the Committees containing equal representation of the County or Burgh Council and the School Boards, and also in the case of the burghs representatives of special local endowments. A proportionate sum according to population was allotted to each Committee, which had to submit for the approval of the Education Department its plans for expending the money in view of the needs of its district for secondary education. Thus through the Equivalent Grant an important innovation was made, and there was introduced into the educational administration of Scotland a new local body representing a wider area, and able to take a more comprehensive view of the needs of secondary education than could individual School Boards. The Secondary Education Committees were the earliest adumbration of the introduction of the county instead of the parish as the unit of educational administration in Scotland.

In 1897, the administration of Science and Art grants in Scotland was transferred by a Minute from the Science and Art Department in South Kensington to the Scotch Education Department. The annual amount of the grant

was about £67,000. The change was overdue, for the time had passed for teaching these important branches as subjects apart, instead of regarding them as essential elements of general education. Besides, there had been overlapping of the two grant-dispensing bodies, and in continuation classes grants had sometimes been paid by both the Education Department and the Science and Art Department for the same subjects taught to the same pupils by the same teachers. These matters were now quickly rectified by the Education Department, and since 1907 the Science and Art grants to schools have been merged into the payments made for the whole work done by the schools, provided Science and Art subjects receive adequate attention as an integral part of the curriculum.

As the sums already set aside from national taxation for the assistance of secondary and technical education were proving inadequate, a further annual grant of £35,000 was made by the Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1898. Of this, a sum of £2000 per annum was allotted as a further contribution towards the cost of the inspection of secondary schools and of the Leaving Certificate Examinations, and a like sum was granted to agricultural education. The remainder was to be distributed in aid of secondary or technical schools not in receipt of grants under the Code. Application had to be made to the Secondary Education Committee of the district, which submitted its recommendations to the Department. Practically all the secondary schools in the country shared in this grant by amounts varying from £300 to £750 per annum.

From what has been said it will be seen that secondary schools were in receipt of financial assistance from the School Boards, in some cases from trustees of endowments, from Town or County Councils, from Burgh or County Secondary

Education Committees, and from the Education Department. The schools had thus to serve too many masters, each laying down terms according to its own ideas. The consequence was that there was overlapping of administration by unrelated bodies, lack of consistent and persistent policy, and uncertainty as to income from grants from year to year. Conditions such as these always lead to waste and diminished efficiency. The financial and administrative position had to be simplified, and this was done by the Education Act of 1908.

Early in the chapter we saw the modest beginnings of State aid to education. The figures have now grown to gigantic dimensions. The estimated expenditure on education in Scotland for the year 1927-28 was as follows:—

1. Public Education—				
Administrative expenses			£56,865	
Inspection			64,425	
Grants—				
General Aid Grant			5,861,349	
Superannuation of Teachers . .			573,909	
			—————	£6,556,548
2. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh				26,481
3. National Galleries, Scotland				10,590
4. National Library, Scotland				5,868
5. Universities Grants-in-Aid—				
Edinburgh University			81,000	
Glasgow University			76,000	
Glasgow Royal Technical College			14,000	
Aberdeen University			48,000	
St Andrews University including Dundee				
University College			45,500	
			—————	264,500
	Total			£6,863,987

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION ACTS OF 1908 AND 1918

THE Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 was one of great importance both to primary and secondary education. It gave broader and fuller interpretation to the scope of education. It was the first Scottish Act to recognise that there is an essential unity in educational agencies, and that one of the most important problems of education is the improvement of the physical condition of the people. It enlarged the functions of education till they included practically everything connected with the well-being of the child physically and morally as well as intellectually. Medical inspection, free meals for necessitous children, the provision of libraries and playing fields, all for the first time found a place in educational legislation in Scotland.

The chief points of the Act are:—

I. Physical Welfare of the Children:—

- (1) School Boards may provide accommodation, apparatus, equipment, service for the preparation or supplying meals to pupils, the cost of the food itself, except in special cases, being met by the parents, or defrayed by voluntary contributions.
- (2) School Boards may, and when required by the Department must, as a condition of grant, provide for the medical examination and supervision of the pupils in their districts, one-half of the cost being defrayed from the District Education Fund to be afterwards mentioned.

(3) When as the result of medical inspection or otherwise it is found that a pupil is in a filthy or verminous state, or is insufficiently clothed or fed, the Board shall, after hearing the explanation of the parent, report the matter if necessary to the Procurator Fiscal for prosecution. If the Board is satisfied with the explanation, or if after prosecution it is found that the parent or guardian is unable through poverty or ill-health to supply the necessary food or clothing or to give the necessary personal attention, and if the necessities of the case are not provided by voluntary agency, it shall make the provision it deems necessary out of the school fund.

(4) School Boards may require parents of physically or mentally defective children to provide efficient education for them up to the age of 16.

(5) School Boards may bring the opportunities for education within easier reach of children in out-lying parts of their areas by providing means of conveyance, or paying travelling expenses for teacher or pupils, or defraying the cost of lodging of pupils.

2. Parents must provide efficient education for their children between 5 and 14 years of age.

3. School Boards individually or in combination may establish and maintain any agency for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children leaving school.

4. Continuation Classes :—

(1) For young persons over 14 years of age School Boards must make provision in continuation classes for instruction in English language and literature,

in the crafts and industries practised in the district, in the laws of health, and opportunity must be afforded for suitable physical training.

(2) School Boards are given power to make bye-laws to enforce attendance at continuation classes up to the age of 17.

5. The position of teachers is improved in two respects:—

(1) The right of appeal to the Department in case of dismissal gives greater security of tenure.

(2) Power is given the Education Department to frame a scheme for the superannuation of teachers in all public schools, whether primary or secondary. (The superannuation of primary teachers had already been provided for under the Elementary School Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1898. The 1908 Act gave to Managers of endowed schools, Central Institutions, and to Provincial Committees the same powers with respect to pensions as were possessed by School Boards. The Act further gave School Boards and Managers powers to supplement, if they thought necessary, the pensions granted under the scheme.)

6. Education (Scotland) Fund:—

The Act effects a great simplification in the administration of the various Government grants for education in Scotland. The Science and Art Grant continued under the administration of the Department, and the University Grants remained outside the Act, but all other sums payable for education in Scotland—the Residue Grant, the Equivalent Grant, the Secondary and Technical Education Grants, the School Grants under the Code, and a Fee Grant of 12s. 6d. per child in average attendance at non-fee-paying schools

—are consolidated into one fund called the Education (Scotland) Fund, to be distributed by the Department in accordance with fixed principles laid down in the Act.

National, as distinct from local, educational requirements are made first charges upon the Fund, and among these the Act enumerates :—

- (1) The cost of inspecting and examining Intermediate and Secondary Schools, and of conducting the Leaving Certificate Examinations.
- (2) Payments towards the maintenance expenditure of the Universities of such additional sums as the Secretary for Scotland may determine.
- (3) Payment to Central Institutions in respect of capital or maintenance expenditure of such sums as the Department may determine.
- (4) Payment to Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers of such sums as are required to meet their approved expenditure.
- (5) Payment of grants to the Teachers' Superannuation Scheme authorised in the Act.

7. Secondary Education Committees : District Education Fund :—

After providing for these first charges, and others that may be approved by the Education Department in Minutes laid before Parliament, the Act directs that the balance of the Education (Scotland) Fund shall be handed over for distribution to one set of authorities instead of many as before, namely, the Burgh and County Committees on Secondary Education. Each of the 39 Committees shall receive a share called the District Education Fund, the amount being determined by the Department and approved by Parliament in accordance with the principle laid down in the Act, viz., "to give greater aid to those districts in

which per head of the population the burden of expenditure on educational purposes approved by the Department is excessive as compared with the valuation of the district."

With regard to payments from each District Fund, a principle similar to that enunciated above is adopted, namely, that expenditure for general district educational purposes shall be a first charge, such as:—

- (1) Payments to Managers of any Intermediate or Secondary School (not conducted for private profit) in respect of pupils attending it who reside outwith the district.
- (2) Bursaries to qualified pupils from the district to enable them to attend an Intermediate or Secondary School, Agricultural College, Technical College, or other Central Institution, University, or Training Centre or College.
- (3) Contributions to the travelling or maintenance expenses of pupils receiving their education away from home.
- (4) A Secondary Education Committee may, with the consent of the Department, establish hostels for junior-students, bursars, or other pupils attending intermediate or secondary schools.

After providing for the above and other permissive first charges, the balance of the District Education Fund that remains in any year shall be distributed among the Managers of schools in the district as an addition to the fee grant.

In order to meet the new conditions and the greatly increased powers and responsibilities, the Secondary Education Committees were reconstituted by a Minute issued in August 1909. The *ad hoc* educational element in each Committee was made decidedly larger than that of the Town Council and other bodies.

8. Maintenance of Secondary Schools:—

Section 26 of the Act is an important one for secondary education. It provides that a School Board, having the management of any school which is a Higher Class Public School within the meaning of the Act of 1872, is bound to maintain it in a condition of efficiency as a secondary school within the meaning of the present Act, and shall have the same power of providing for its maintenance as they have in respect of any other public school under their management.

The Scottish Education Act of 1918 is in several respects an extension of the principles underlying the 1908 Act. Like much legislation of the period, it owed its origin to the soul-stirrings of the Great War. The social sentiment created by the War approved of a forward move in the province of public education, and the question of cost entered but slightly into the consideration. The experience of the War showed that the general standard of educational and physical efficiency and the supply of fully educated men and women were insufficient for the needs of the nation. For the improvement of administration and the development and effective co-ordination of primary, secondary, continuation, and technical education the unit of area must be enlarged, and the parish area, to which the Scottish people had clung ever since they had a school system, must be given up in favour of a self-contained area of sufficient size. But the central problem was the better development of the intelligence, health, and character of the child and adolescent. This demanded a longer period of preparation, hence the period of education must be extended at both ends. For the vast majority of young people education came to a premature stop at the entry to adolescence or sooner, and they were thrown upon the

labour market with the mere rudiments of education. Economic pressure compelled a large proportion of them to enter "blind alley" employments where they were cut off from opportunities of ever becoming skilled workers. The exploitation of child-labour in the interests of parents or employers or community must cease. Such were the altruistic communings of the people during the stress of the War, and it is to them that we owe largely that great measure, the Education Act of 1918, carrying out almost in the letter the ideals of Knox and the other great educational reformers.

A summary only of the Act can be given here, for details of which readers are referred to the full text as published by H.M. Stationery office.

1. County Education Areas:—

The county is to be the local education area, and the five largest burghs (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Leith) are to remain separate educational units. Leith has since then been amalgamated with Edinburgh, so that the education areas in Scotland now consist of 33 counties and 4 large burghs. School Boards are replaced by what are termed Education Authorities, which are elected every three years by the method of Proportional Representation—the first introduction of the method in the election of public bodies in Scotland. They are *ad hoc* Authorities, being elected for the administration of education alone. The 37 Education Authorities take the place of 947 School Boards, and about 980 members of the Education Authorities take the place of some 5650 School Board members in administering the education of the country.

2. School Management Committees:—

The adoption of the county area as the unit of administration made some delegation of authority a necessity, if local

interest and knowledge were to be utilised, and if each school was to be kept in touch with the main education of the county. Hence to assist the Education Authority in the discharge of its duties the Act requires each Authority to appoint a School Management Committee for each school or group of schools in the county or burgh. The School Management Committee comprises representatives of the Education Authority, the parents, the teachers, and in some cases other residents appointed by local bodies connected with education. Each Committee has the general supervision and management of a school or group of schools, including attendance thereat, but such matters as the control of expenditure, establishment of schools, appointment, remuneration, and dismissal of teachers, and appointment of bursars must remain in the hands of the Education Authority.

3. The chief powers and duties of the Education Authorities include:—

- (1) To facilitate attendance at Secondary Schools and other institutions by granting assistance in the form of payment of travelling expenses or of fees or of the cost of residence in a hostel, or of a bursary or maintenance allowance to any child or young person who gives promise of profiting by such attendance but would be debarred from it by reason of the expenses involved. Similar assistance may be given to any duly qualified young person to enable him or her to attend a University or Training College or a Central Institution or any other educational institution approved for the purpose by the Department. Payment, if necessary, of travelling expenses of any person attending continuation classes.

- (2) To provide, where thought necessary, books to assist the education not only of children and young persons attending schools and continuation classes but also of the adult population. In this connection the Education Authority is given power to enter into any arrangement thought desirable with public libraries.
- (3) To supply, if thought fit, or aid in supplying Nursery Schools for children between 2 and 5 years of age, and to attend to the mental development and the health, nourishment, and physical welfare of such children.
- (4) To contribute, if thought necessary, to the maintenance of schools and institutions not under their own management, and to any Central Institution or University. Also, each Education Authority to contribute to the maintenance of Training Colleges such sum as the Department may determine, the sum being proportioned to the number of fully qualified teachers in the service of the Authority.

4. Extension of school age, and employment of children and young persons:—

- (1) The age for compulsory attendance at day schools to be raised, after a day to be appointed by the Education Department, to 15 years, and no exemption from attendance at school to be granted to any child under 13 years of age.
- (2) Young persons who leave the day school at 15 to attend continuation classes till 16 and eventually up to 18 years of age. Schemes for the education of these young persons have to be

submitted for the approval of the Department. Every such scheme shall provide for:—

- (a) Instruction in English language and literature, and such other parts of general education as are thought desirable.
- (b) Instruction conducive to efficiency of the young persons in the employment in which they are engaged or propose to be engaged.
- (c) Instruction in physical exercises, including instruction in such exercises afforded at holiday camps, or in connection with Boys' Brigades or kindred organisations.

The total amount of instruction in continuation classes must amount to at least 320 hours per annum, arranged at sessions and times to suit each locality. Only attendance between 8 A.M. and 7 P.M. to count. Every employer of labour must allow every young person in his employment any opportunity necessary to attend continuation classes in accordance with the requirements of the Education Authority. Further, the number of hours during which the young person is employed, and the number of hours of attendance at the classes, including time for travelling, must not in the aggregate exceed in any day or week the number of hours allowed by statute for the full-time employment of such young person.

- (3) A child under 13 cannot be employed on any school day during school hours, nor before 8 A.M. or after 6 P.M. This regulation holds for children over 13 who have not been granted exemption.

5. Religious Instruction :—

Each Education Authority to be at liberty to continue the custom of giving instruction in religion to children whose parents do not object to such instruction. Parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the school, to be at liberty to elect that their children shall not receive such instruction.

6. Transference of Voluntary Schools :—

The Trustees of a Voluntary School may transfer the school by sale, lease, or otherwise to the Education Authority, who are bound to accept the transference on such terms as to price, rent, etc., as may be agreed upon. The existing staff of teachers must be taken over and placed on the same scale as corresponding teachers under the Education Authority. Any future teachers appointed to a transferred school must be approved as to their religious belief and their character by the representatives of the denomination in whose interests the school was conducted. The time set apart for religious instruction shall not be less than before transference.

Two years after the passing of the Act were allowed for the transference, and after that date no grant could be paid to any non-transferred Voluntary School. (Except in one or two isolated cases all denominational schools formerly in receipt of grants have been transferred to the new Authorities.) A Voluntary School established after the passing of the Act may be transferred on the same conditions as the above.

7. Advisory Council, and Local Advisory Councils :—

An Advisory Council shall be established by His Majesty in Council, consisting to the extent of not less than two-thirds of persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education. The purpose of the Council

shall be to advise the Department on educational matters, and the Department must take into consideration any advice or representation submitted by the Advisory Council.

(The above Council should not be confused with the Local Advisory Councils.)

Every Education Authority within three months of its election shall establish a Local Advisory Council consisting of persons qualified to represent the views of local bodies interested in education. The purpose of the Local Advisory Council in each case shall be to advise the Education Authority on educational matters relating to the area, and the latter must take into consideration any advice or representation submitted by the Council.

8. Various important modifications are made by the Act in the Education (Scotland) Fund, and in the payment of grants. These are outlined in this and the preceding chapter.

9. Dismissal of Teachers :—

No Education Authority may dismiss a certificated teacher unless :—

- (1) Written notice of the motion of dismissal be sent to the teacher at least three weeks before the meeting at which it is to be made.
- (2) Not less than half of the members of the Education Authority be present at the meeting.
- (3) The resolution of dismissal be agreed to by at least two-thirds of the members present.

A dismissed teacher has the power of appeal to the Education Department, and if, after inquiry, the Department should be of opinion that the dismissal is not reasonably justified it may, should the Authority not reverse their decision, require it to pay to the teacher a named sum not exceeding one year's salary.

A School Management Committee may summarily suspend any teacher from his work, but during suspension his salary shall not be affected.

10. The name of the Department to be changed to "Scottish Education Department."

11. The Act to come into operation on a day to be appointed by the Education Department, and different days may be appointed for the different provisions of the Act.

It may be stated that owing to the strained economic condition of the country after the War, the "appointed day" has not as yet (1927) been fixed for the extension from 14 to 15 of the leaving age for day school pupils, or for the compulsory attendance at continuation classes of young persons who leave the day schools at 15.

Such are the educational and administrative regulations of the Act of 1918, and they have worked with great smoothness apart from the fact that difficulty has arisen in a few instances regarding the necessary limitations within which School Management Committees act. The system, too, of Local Advisory Councils may not have fulfilled as yet all the expectations entertained regarding it. But we may anticipate that, with further experience of the working of the Act, such difficulties will disappear.

If the provisions of the Act be compared with the recommendations of Knox and his fellows, it will be seen that they are, in a modern and improved form and with the addition of all the local and national administrative machinery now thought necessary, largely an expression of the ideals of the early educational reformers. As the late Professor S. S. Laurie once said, "so subtly does traditional idea work in the blood of a nation."

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT. TYPES OF SCHOOLS AND CURRICULA

THE administration of the educational system of the country implies a partnership between Central and Local Authorities. We have seen how much of the success of the national system depends upon the initiative and energy of the Education Authorities. We have now to consider the nature and function of the Central Authority. We have learned in earlier chapters that the provision and management of education were left entirely to voluntary effort till 1839. In that year the Education Department, or Committee of the Privy Council on Education, was established at Whitehall. It controlled education in England, Wales, and Scotland, and this continued till 1872 when, under the Education (Scotland) Act of that year, a separate Committee of the Privy Council was formed to administer Scottish Education. It had, however, the same President, Vice-President, and Secretary (Sir Francis Sandford) as the Committee for Education in England and Wales. This connection lasted till 1885, when the Scotch Education Department was made independent, and was put under a Vice-President of its own, namely the Secretary for Scotland, who became its responsible head. Its first permanent Secretary was Mr (later Sir) Henry Craik. There is no doubt that the joint arrangement with England for well-nigh half a century hampered Scottish Education. The two countries had different historic tendencies and ideals, and were at

different stages in educational evolution. The separation was to the benefit of both countries. At any rate, after 1885 Scotland was free to pursue her own educational policy, and progress became more rapid in every grade of education.

The members of the Education Department, or Scottish Committee of the Privy Council on Education, are the Lord President of the Council, who is *ex officio* President both of the English and Scottish Committees; the Secretary for Scotland, who is Vice-President; the First Lord of the Treasury and the Lord Advocate, both *ex officio*; the Right Hon. Viscount Haldane; the Right Hon. Lord Shaw; the Right Hon. Lord Strathclyde. The constitution of the Department is not perhaps the best that might be obtained. As a body it is too little in touch with the springs of national life. This objection is met to some extent by the appointment referred to in last chapter, of a representative Advisory Council to the Department under the Education Act of 1918. The Department rarely meets, its functions being performed by the Vice-President, who is the Minister responsible to Parliament for the administration of education. It has had a succession of distinguished permanent Secretaries in Sir Henry Craik, Sir John Struthers, and Sir George Macdonald.

The powers of the Department are not well defined. Its function, broadly speaking, is to see that the requirements of the various Education Acts are fulfilled; and to distribute the various annual grants for education in accordance with the rules and conditions laid down by Parliament. It has to aid and co-operate with the Education Authorities in carrying out their important duties in their respective districts. It has to ensure, by means of school inspection, that the public money spent on education is being efficiently employed. Its duties have gradually increased. It may not be, strictly speaking, a function of a Government Department to conduct a great system of national examinations

like the Leaving Certificate Examinations, but, in the absence of a national examination board, this onerous task has been performed by the Education Department with the greatest benefit to the country.

In preceding chapters the rise and growth of elementary, secondary, and higher education have been traced. It only remains to indicate the different types of schools and curricula as they exist in Scotland at the present time. In the national system there are only two grades of day schools—primary and secondary—and their relative spheres are stated in the Codes of Regulations¹ of the Education Department. The primary school is intended for those who leave school at the end of the compulsory education period, which at present is 14 years of age. It is organised normally in four Divisions, namely, an Infant Division, providing suitable instruction for children under 7 years of age; a Junior Division (ages 7 to 9); a Senior Division (ages 9 to 12); and an Advanced Division for pupils who, about the age of 12, satisfy any test the Education Authority may apply of their fitness for a course of instruction suitable for pupils between 12 and 14 or 15 years of age.

The curriculum for all four Divisions makes provision for instruction in (a) spoken English, and the subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic; (b) English prose and verse suited to the age of the scholars; memorising of passages of literary merit; (c) physical exercises; (d) singing by note. In the Infant, Junior, and Senior Divisions instruction must be given in Drawing, with or without Manual Occupations. In the Junior and Senior Divisions all scholars must get instruction in Nature Study and Geography, and

¹ *Code of Regulations for Day Schools in Scotland*, and *Secondary School (Scotland) Regulations*, both published by H.M. Stationery Office, may be purchased through any bookseller. A useful summary is given in a brochure on *Education in Scotland* by A. S. Lamb (Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1s. net).

girls in Needlework. In the Senior Division instruction must be given in Written Composition and History.

The organisation of the work in the Advanced Division is of great importance, as this is the stage in which pupils have hitherto been apt to lose interest in the ordinary instruction, and to become unsettled as they begin to feel the call to work in the world. The scheme of work for this Division has been entirely reorganised by the Department since 1922. The Department states that in this Division, "The first and principal aim must be the continuance and development of general education on the moral and physical no less than the intellectual side. It is therefore essential that every course should provide for training in Morals and Citizenship, for Music and for Physical Exercises."

The amount of intellectual training that may be given depends upon the length of time the pupil spends in the Division. The Department states that for pupils who are likely to remain less than three but not less than two years in an Advanced Division, graduated courses of instruction should be given which include the following:—

1. English, History, and Geography.
2. Mathematics (or, for girls, Arithmetic) and Science.
3. One or more of the following:—
 - (a) Drawing.
 - (b) Practical Subjects, *e.g.*—
Technical Drawing, Benchwork ;
Navigation ;
Gardening ;
Needlework (especially Mending, Darning, and
Cutting-out) ; Dressmaking ;
Cookery, Laundrywork.
 - (c) Commercial Subjects (a beginning).
 - (d) A Foreign Language.

Leaving pupils whose school record in the above course is satisfactory, and who pass any necessary test at the end of it, may be awarded the *Day School Certificate (Lower)*. The Certificate is issued by the School Managers on the recommendation of H.M. Inspectors, and with the Department's authority.

Many pupils voluntarily remain at school till 15, and take a three years' Advanced Course. When the minimum leaving age is extended to 15 by putting into force the powers of the 1918 Act, it is hoped that the majority of primary pupils will be able to complete three years in this Division. For such pupils the Department recommends a graduated course of instruction including the following:—

1. English, History, and Geography.
2. Mathematics and Science.
3. Drawing.
4. One or more of the following:—

(a) Practical Subjects, *e.g.*—

Technical Drawing, Benchwork, Mechanics ;
Navigation, Seamanship ;
Gardening, Agriculture, Dairying ;
Needlework, Design, Dressmaking ;
Cookery, Laundrywork, Housewifery.

(b) Commercial Subjects.

(c) A Foreign Language.

(d) Any other approved subject.

On the successful completion of this course, attested as already stated, the Department may award the *Day School Certificate (Higher)* on the recommendation of H.M. Inspectors, to pupils who are leaving school. It is of importance to note that the Day School Certificates awarded at the end of a two years' course are issued by the School

Managers, while those granted at the end of a three years' course are awarded by the Education Department.

There is no doubt that the institution and thorough organisation of these Advanced Divisions leading up to these two Certificates, especially the Higher, mark an important development of primary school education in Scotland. The Divisions are on their trial, and if they are successful in their aim they will induce many pupils to remain longer at school than the compulsory period. Almost everything depends upon the qualifications of the teachers engaged in the work, and accordingly teachers who satisfy the special conditions laid down in the Regulations for the Training of Teachers receive an endorsement on their Certificates specifying the subjects they are recognised as qualified to teach to Advanced Divisions. The endorsement is granted only to graduates (ordinary or honours), or holders of the Teachers' Technical Certificate, or holders of the Teachers' General Certificate who have undergone an approved course of training of not less than three years' duration.¹ These Advanced Divisions, staffed by carefully selected and thoroughly qualified teachers, should make the education given in the last two or three important years in the primary school more successful than ever before.

The country is now keenly alive to the importance of education for adolescents, as is shown by the number of Government Commissions and Departmental Committees that have been appointed to investigate different aspects of

¹ The Education Department reserves power to itself to waive this requirement as to a three years' course in the case of those who began their training prior to 1924, and also to allow exceptions thereafter in the case of candidates for the Article 39 qualification in Domestic Subjects. See Article 39 of the *Regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training, and Certification of Teachers for various Grades of Schools (Scotland)*, 1924, published by H.M. Stationery Office.

the matter in recent times.¹ From all this energy of inquiry along well-directed lines we may expect valuable suggestions regarding a phase of national education, namely post-primary education, that has been baffling us since the days of the Reformers. The above Advanced Division courses outlined by the Education Department are probably as good as could be devised with our present knowledge, but they are not likely to be the final phase of advanced day-school education for pupils from the primary schools. The problem is really wider than that of finding the most suitable form of education for pupils from any class of school—it is to find the various types of education, differing from the existing secondary type, which will meet the requirements of every normal child over 12 years of age. The present Advanced Divisions may well be the germ out of which will grow secondary education adapted to the proper training of all young people beyond the elementary stage, whatever their particular bent or aim in life may be.

At the present time, pupils in primary schools, who about the age of twelve have completed satisfactorily their elementary course as tested by the Education Authority, may continue their education along one or other of two lines according to their circumstances and future intentions. They may enter upon one of the Advanced Division courses

¹ The Advisory Council of the Scottish Education Department issued a Report in 1923 on the best types of education for adolescents both in Day Schools and Continuation Classes.

A Committee on Education and Industry, with Lord Salvesen as chairman, was appointed by the Secretary for Scotland, and its first Report, issued in March 1927, contained proposals having an important bearing on school-leaving age and adolescent education. One notable recommendation made by this Committee is that "as soon as may be found practicable the appointed day should be named for raising the school-leaving age to 15 years," as provided in the 1918 Act.

The Departmental Committee on Endowments, appointed by the Secretary for Scotland in April 1927 (see p. 111), will probably have something to say on post-primary or adolescent education.

outlined above, or they may decide to stay at school till 17 or 18 years of age and take a full secondary curriculum. In the latter case they are transferred to a secondary school, where they join pupils who have received their elementary education in a Junior or Preparatory Department of the secondary school. In this Department the pupils receive a course of instruction similar to that given during the corresponding period in the primary school, except that the study of a language other than English may be begun in the former at about 10 or 11 years of age.

The course in the secondary school extends to at least five years, and has the Leaving Certificate as its goal. No hard and fast curriculum is laid down, and it is left to the Managers to submit for the approval of the Department proposals for suitable curricula. The Secondary Schools Regulations state that every course should provide throughout for training in Morals and Citizenship, for Physical Exercises, and for instruction in English and History. The earlier years of the course should, as a rule, include also Geography, Mathematics, a language other than English, Science, and Drawing. In the later years opportunity is allowed for specialisation, and there may be concentration on suitable combinations of subjects. The Regulations further state that every school should have on its staff teachers competent to give instruction in Latin, Greek, French, and German.

At the conclusion of the secondary course, pupils are presented for the Leaving Certificate Examinations of the Education Department. Every precaution is taken to avoid the possibility of a good pupil failing through the chance result of one examination. The day-to-day work of the pupil is taken into account, and the teacher of each subject submits to the Department his estimate of each pupil by means of a percentage mark. Should there be a material divergence between the estimate and the mark obtained

in the examination, then, before success or failure is decided, the Department's Inspector makes inquiry into each case by visiting the school. The papers set in the Examinations are of two standards except in English, which is on the Higher Standard only, and in order to gain the Leaving Certificate a pupil must as a rule pass in at least two subjects on the Higher Standard and a like number on the Lower. One of the subjects taken on the Higher Standard must be English (including Literature and History), and the other must be taken from the Mathematical and Science Group, or from the Language Group. A pass on at least the Lower Standard in Mathematics or Science and in a language other than English is, as a rule, a condition of obtaining the Certificate. There is no doubt that the institution of these Leaving Certificate Examinations in 1888 has established a reasonable standard for secondary education throughout the country, and it has done much to stimulate the schools and also to direct their activity along sound educational lines. The Certificate has the confidence of the public, and is accepted in lieu of their own examinations by the Universities in our own and other countries, and by the leading professional and commercial bodies.

The period between pupilage and maturity is one of the most critical in the history of every human being. On the use made of it and the habits formed during it depend largely future success and usefulness in life. If the youth has been fortunate enough to be able to remain at school till the completion of the secondary stage, training for vocation still lies before him, and he has to adjust himself to the complex and exacting demands of life. But if he has to leave school at 14, as the majority of young people have to do, he does so just as he is entering upon a stage of his development that brings with it exceptional intellectual, and ethical, and physical strain. The young wage-earner should

receive special care and consideration both by his parents and by the State. It certainly will not pay to leave him to muddle through these critical two or three years as best he may.

Another matter that presses heavily on adolescents is the question of employment. It is difficult nowadays for youth to get a secure foothold in industry. Some seventy thousand young people in Scotland are leaving school every year to enter the industrial and labour market, and there is no room for them all. A considerable percentage of them fail to get immediate employment, and thus are deprived of the education and discipline to be obtained from work. Their energy and morale are affected. To cope with this, the Education Authorities in several of the larger towns have instituted Juvenile Unemployment Centres for the education during the daytime of boys and girls out of work. Various aspects of the employment of youth were investigated by the Ministry of Labour which published a Report on the subject in 1926. One of the most unsatisfactory features revealed by the Inquiry was the general absence nowadays of apprenticeship or training for industry. Added to this there is the increasing tendency to mass production, and to dividing trades into smaller and smaller parts, thus depriving industry of much of the educational value it formerly possessed. All these things are making it essential that the work of the primary school should be supported and supplemented by an efficient system of Continuation Classes. Unless this is done, we shall be spending vast sums and using up nearly the whole of the energy of our national education in partially training the children and then allowing them in large measure to waste. Elementary education is not a thing complete in itself. In the primary school the child is little more than prepared for education, and fruitful training of capacity comes only at the secondary stage. For children who have to begin working for a

living before this stage is reached, the deficiency must be made good in Continuation Classes.

It has already been stated that power is given in Section 15 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, to make attendance at Continuation Classes compulsory up to 18 years of age in the case of those who leave the Day School at 14 or 15, but that the Section has not yet (1927) been put into force by the Department. New Regulations for Continuation Classes¹ came into operation on 1st August 1926. They show how different the continuation education now given is from the work of the Evening Schools at the beginning of the century. Then they gave instruction mainly in English, Arithmetic, and other school subjects, and limited themselves to making good the educational deficiencies of those who had not been able to complete even their elementary education in the day schools. The idea now is that Continuation Classes should provide forms of advanced education suitable for the masses of the people, that their function in the educational system is to give mainly education on a secondary level, placing emphasis, however, on the practical aspect of studies connected with some definite activity, career, or vocation. In the Classes education and work overlap. Instruction in literature must always be given, but there should also always be practical studies intended to supplement and expand the training in some occupation in accordance with the most advanced modern industrial demands. Hence in the larger towns in Scotland Continuation Classes are now formed for the various trades and occupations, and to some extent even the professions, in the district. There are also Commercial Classes giving advanced instruction in such subjects as English, French, Mathematics, Book-keeping, Shorthand, Typewriting, Eco-

¹ *Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes in Scotland, 1926.* Published by H.M. Stationery Office, and to be purchased through booksellers.

nomics, and Business Procedure ; Cultural Classes in which students are prepared for various general-knowledge examinations ; and there are what may be called Professional Classes in which such subjects as English, Latin, French, and Mathematics are studied right up to the level of the Entrance Examination to the Universities and of examinations conducted by different professions. By means of such classes students are qualified to continue their education, as they frequently do, in the Universities and the various Colleges and Central Institutions.

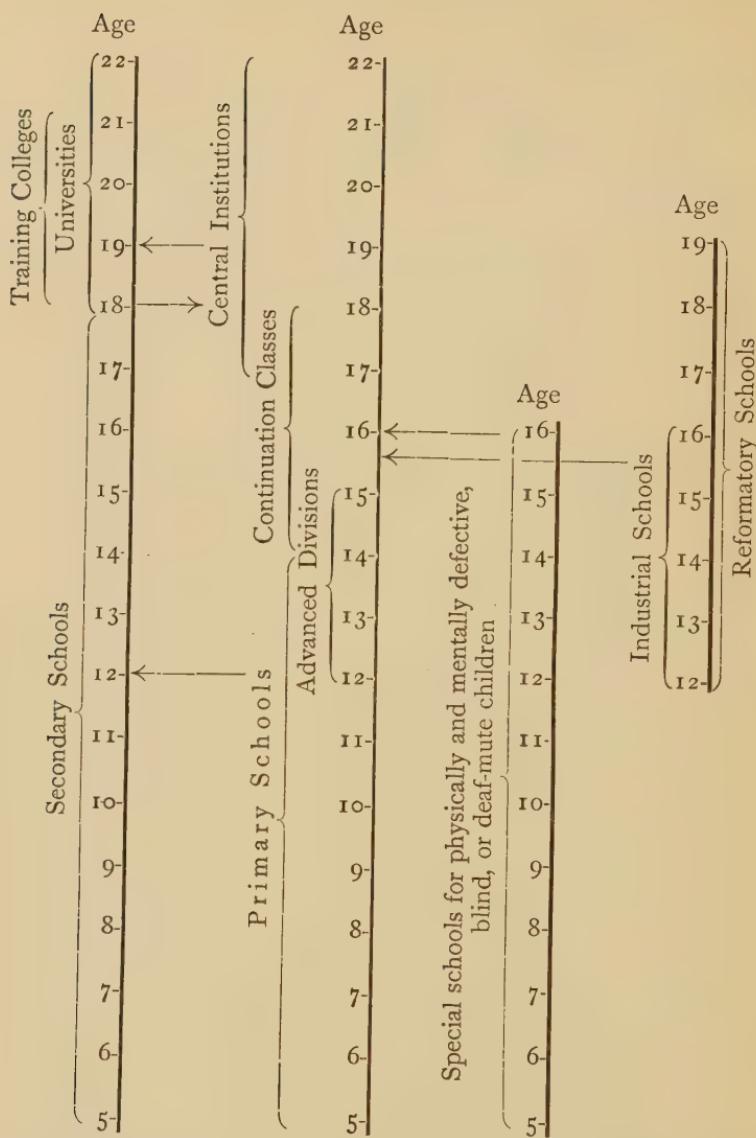
Fortunately, there is no age limit to education. In some of the towns and centres of population in Scotland, Tutorial Classes are conducted under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, sometimes in conjunction with the Education Authority of the district. The conception underlying the Classes is to bring higher liberal education, as distinct from vocational instruction, within the reach of adult workers. The instruction is given to a large extent by University Professors and Lecturers and other specialist teachers, and the classes are sometimes conducted in the University Class Rooms. There are great possibilities of future development in such Classes, offering, as they do, many of the benefits of higher learning to those who have to work at their vocations during the day.

Thus under the local control of the Education Authorities, or other Managers, the country is covered by a network of primary schools, secondary schools, special schools for blind, deaf-mute, defective, and epileptic children, continuation classes, and reformatory and industrial schools, all under the supervision of the Education Department, and capable in their several spheres of training their pupils up to any standard the necessities of the country may demand.

A feature of the Scottish system that may be specially mentioned is its co-educational nature. This has always been characteristic of Scottish education, and, except in some secondary schools, pupils and students of both sexes are taught in the same buildings and generally in the same classes.

Before concluding these remarks on schools, reference may be made to a type of school called the Higher Grade School, which was introduced into the Day Schools Code in 1899, and which, while it lasted, played a notable part in the development of Scottish education. At that period the age limit of compulsory education was 13, and the new type of school was intended for pupils who remained in the primary school till that age, and who were prepared to continue their day-school education for at least other three years before entering upon industrial or commercial pursuits.

The special function of the higher grade schools was to continue the instruction given in the primary school, and at the outset they were of two types—the Higher Grade (Science) School, and the Higher Grade (Commercial) School—according to the predominant feature of the curriculum. A few years after higher grade schools were instituted they were allowed to carry on their pupils till 17 or 18 years of age, and to permit pupils during the last two or three years to specialise along certain lines—literary, scientific, technical, or commercial. A considerable amount of freedom was allowed to the Managers in framing the curricula of these schools to meet the special needs of their pupils, and in course of time a large number of the higher grade schools became practically secondary schools, the only difference being that they were eligible for grants under the Day Schools Code, and generally charged no fees. They presented pupils in the Leaving Certificate Examinations on the same conditions as secondary schools.



Graphic representation of the Scottish educational system, showing the essential linearity of the system, and the normal progress of pupils from one part of it to another.

These schools were an immediate success, and seemed to be in harmony with the Scottish traditions of education beyond the elementary stage. The number of higher grade schools and of the pupils attending them rapidly increased. There were few districts in Scotland without such a school, and in a dozen years they outnumbered the secondary schools proper by four to one. They provided free education, largely of a secondary type on modern lines, to over twenty thousand pupils for whom no such facilities existed prior to 1899. Thus the higher grade school system had an important effect on the development of higher school education in Scotland, but as it overlapped the work of the secondary schools on the one hand and of the advanced departments of the primary schools on the other, the system was discontinued. The higher grade schools with a five years' curriculum are now merged into schools of the secondary category, while those with a three years' curriculum take their place amongst the advanced divisions.

CHAPTER XIII

TEACHERS: HISTORY OF THEIR TRAINING AND PRESENT STATUS

EVERY reform in education centres round the teachers, and every advance depends almost solely upon their intelligence, character, and skill. Hence in the educational policy of a country, the education and training of teachers are matters of as much importance as the establishment and maintenance of the schools themselves. For centuries—from the time of Knox, indeed, till the Education Act of 1872—Scotland had a supply of parochial teachers unexcelled probably in scholarship and skill by those of any other country. Acts of the Scottish Parliament early in the seventeenth century had decreed that every parish in the land must have a schoolmaster “able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue” and Logic and Rhetoric. The teachers therefore had to be men of high attainments, and most of them indeed had received a University education and were able to prepare their best pupils to go straight to the Universities. The parish school system admirably suited a rural community, but it could not meet the requirements of the people when the rapid growth of commerce and industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries drew the population largely from the country parishes to the towns. In the attempt to cope with the many thousands of children in the congested centres of population, a class of teachers had to be employed inferior in every respect to those of the parish schools. The need of educating and preparing the new teachers for their work was but too apparent, and thus out of the breakdown of the

famous parish school system there arose one of the most important educational developments in Scotland in the nineteenth century, namely the training of teachers.¹

The growing ignorance and vice of the cities attracted the attention of ministers of the gospel and philanthropists. Among the latter was David Stow, the son of a well-to-do Paisley merchant. At the age of eighteen he went to Glasgow to enter upon a commercial career. His leisure time he devoted to mission work in one of the poorest parts of the city. To quote his own words, he saw there "an amount of deceit and wickedness which gradually convinced me that the idea of reforming the old was a hopeless one. The only hope lies in getting hold of the young and influencing them."

So he started a Sunday School. But he soon saw that one evening in the Sunday School could not counteract the effects of seven days spent in the streets, that street training must be replaced by school training, and that the training must begin as early as the influence of the streets. Hence he resolved to start a day school, his object being, as he said, "to begin with children under six years of age, before their intellectual and moral habits were fully formed, and consequently when fewer obstacles were presented to the establishment of good ones."

For ten years he carried on the work as an outsider and amateur in school-keeping, and during these years he formed definite educational conclusions which he propounded as "The Training System." Its fundamental conception was the difference between teaching and training, instruction and education. Another idea it emphasised

¹ A valuable treatise on *The Training of Teachers in Scotland* has been written by Dr R. R. Rusk mainly from contemporary records (published by the Educational Institute of Scotland).

A short account by the present writer of *The Training of Primary and Secondary Teachers in Scotland* appeared in the *Educational News* on 4th March 1905, the organ of the Educational Institute of Scotland.

was the power of the "sympathy of numbers." The public opinion of a class, Stow said, was more potent for intellectual and moral culture, and as a means of discipline, than any amount of corporal punishment. One of the chief methods of instruction he advocated was "picturing out in words," by which he meant that no word was to be used until the idea contained in it was understood. The children should be told nothing, but be made to find out things for themselves. By means of questions, analogies, and illustrations, the idea was to be pictured in words, and rendered visible to the mind's eye or understanding of the pupils. Other features of the system were the educational importance it placed on the Bible lesson, on physical training, on the playground, or "uncovered school" as he called it, on frequent singing, on teaching boys and girls together, and on doing away with all distinctions such as place-taking or rewards. These all seem commonplaces to us now, but they were a great advance upon the practice of his day. Soon the system began to attract attention in circles interested in education, and demonstrations were given by Stow and his pupils to crowded audiences in the chief cities in Scotland. Students, both male and female, began to come for training in the new educational ideas to a small schoolroom he had rented in 1826 in the Drygate, Glasgow. This may be said to be the beginning of the training of teachers in Scotland.

As the financial burden was becoming too great for him, Stow in 1834 got a society formed, called the Glasgow Education Society, to take over two model schools he had instituted and form them into "a Normal Seminary . . . for the training of teachers in the most improved modes of intellectual and moral training, so that schoolmasters may enjoy complete and professional education." One of the first things the Society did was to advertise for a Rector to

superintend the training of the students, stipulating that the successful candidate should go abroad for several months, at the Society's expense, to learn the working of similar institutions in France and Germany.¹ The appointment was given to John McCrie, son of the famous biographer of John Knox and Andrew Melville, but unfortunately he died only a few months after taking up office. As the work grew, voluntary subscriptions began to prove insufficient for the needs of the College, and on the Committee of the Privy Council on Education being formed in 1839, Stow applied to it for a grant of £5000 to wipe off half the debt on the institution, and an annual grant of £500 to meet current expenses. Fortunately, the first Secretary of the Committee was Dr Kay, afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, one of the most enlightened administrators of education our country has ever had. He knew at first-hand the splendid work Stow was doing, and under his influence the Council agreed to give the grant, but on condition that the whole of the property and the management of the institution be transferred to the only national body then available—the Church of Scotland.

But before dealing with the splendid services of the

¹ At one time Carlyle thought of becoming a candidate for the post. Writing to his brother John on 16th February 1835, he said: "My only new scheme, since my last letter, is a hypothesis—little more yet—about National Education. The newspapers had an advertisement about a Glasgow 'Education Association' which wants a man that would found a Normal School, first going over England and into Germany to get light on that matter. I wrote to that Glasgow Association afar off, enquiring who they were, what manner of man they expected, testifying myself very friendly to their project, and so forth—no answer as yet. It is likely they will want, as Jane says, a 'Chalmers and Welsh' kind of character, in which case *Va ben, felice notte*. If otherwise, and they (almost by miracle) had the heart, I am the man for them. Perhaps my name is so heterodox in that circle, I shall not hear at all. If I stir in any public matter, it must be this of national education." (Froude's *Thomas Carlyle*, Second Series, Chapter I.)

national Church in connection with the training of teachers, a brief reference may be made to the Pupil Teacher system which played a considerable part in educational organisation in Scotland for sixty years (1846-1906). As the effects of the industrial revolution began to be felt, both England and Scotland found themselves face to face with three difficulties in connection with education—the need of securing a higher class of teacher than many of those available, of providing more teachers for the increasing number of pupils without the expense of employing more adult assistants, and, lastly, of supplying a succession of suitable students for the Training Colleges but recently instituted. The monitorial system, so much insisted on by Bell and Lancaster in the previous generation, suggested a plan that seemed to solve the three difficulties at once, namely the Pupil Teacher system.

By a Minute drawn up by Dr Kay-Shuttleworth in 1846, school managers were allowed to select promising boys and girls of 13 years of age, and apprentice them for five years (reduced at a later period to four years) to a head teacher to be trained by him or her in the art of teaching, and to receive instruction for an hour each day beyond ordinary school hours. Dr Kay said of the system: "Under it the most vigorous, intelligent, well-conducted, and proficient scholars are chosen as candidates for the office of pupil-teacher or apprentice. Every day they receive a certain amount of instruction from the master, and during a certain number of hours they are familiarised with the management and instruction of an elementary school by having charge of one of its classes. Annually those who fail intellectually or morally are sifted out; and at the close of the apprenticeship of five years none can be admitted to a Normal School as Queen's Scholars, to be trained mainly at the public expense, without a vigorous competition with all those whose apprenticeship closes in the same year.

During the apprenticeship the Committee of Council support the pupil-teachers by stipends rising from £10 in the first year to £20 in the last; and also reward the master for the instruction which he gives them by an annual addition to his salary proportionate to the number of his apprentices.”¹

Such is an accurate description of the Pupil Teacher system by its real founder. The immature youths composing it taught all day long classes of forty, fifty, or more pupils under the supervision, too frequently nominal, of the head teacher. There were no free periods for study, and the formal instruction of the pupil teachers, often ridiculously meagre, was given either before or after the teaching day. In spite of such handicaps, many of them not only worked their way to the Training Colleges but distinguished themselves at the Universities. But it was a Spartan training, and only the strong could bear the strain. Yet this is the system of which Matthew Arnold reported in 1861 that it was “the sinews of English primary education, whose institution is the grand merit of our English State system and its chief title to public respect.”

But to resume our study of the part played by the Churches in the training of teachers. For over sixty years—till 1906—the training of teachers for the schools of the country was carried on almost entirely by the Education Committees of the two great Presbyterian Churches—the Church of Scotland, and the United Free Church—and in a much smaller degree by the Episcopal Church, and the Roman Catholic Church,² and right well did they discharge

¹ *Second Report of the 1864 Commission*, p. lxxxviii.

² The Training Colleges belonging to the Churches were:—

1837. Dundas Vale Training College, opened by the Glasgow Education Society and transferred to the Church of Scotland in 1841.

Market Place School, Edinburgh, handed over for observation and practice in teaching to the Church of Scotland,

the onerous task with the limited resources at their disposal. They did everything in their power to encourage the University education of teachers. Under the advice largely of the late Professor S. S. Laurie, they urged for years upon the Board of Education—Scotland had not then an Education Department of its own—the desirability of allowing some of the ablest students to attend University classes concurrently with their training. In 1873 the necessary permission was granted, and since then the number of teacher-students attending the Arts and Science classes in Scottish Universities has continually increased, and now all men students admitted to training must be graduates of a University, and fully half of the women students either graduate before training or attend graduation courses in the Universities during their training.

Another great reform effected during the regime of the Churches, although due mainly to the progressive ideas of

and afterwards known as "The Normal and Sessional School of Edinburgh."

- 1845. Church of Scotland Training College, opened in Johnston Terrace, Edinburgh.
- 1846. Free Church of Scotland Training College, opened in Cowcaddens, Glasgow (Stow College).
- 1848. Moray House, acquired by the Free Church for a Training College in Edinburgh.
- 1850. Episcopal Training College, established as a College for Men in Croft-an-Righ House, near Holyrood, Edinburgh. Transferred in 1877 after various wanderings to its present position in Dalry House, and now a College for Women.
- 1873. Church of Scotland Training College, opened in Aberdeen.
- 1874. Free Church Training College, opened in Aberdeen.
- 1879. Church of Scotland Training College, opened in Chambers Street, Edinburgh.
- 1895. Roman Catholic Training College (for Women), opened at Dowanhill, Glasgow.
- 1919. Roman Catholic Training College (for Women), opened in Moray Place, Edinburgh, and transferred to its present site at Craiglockhart in the following year.

the Scottish Education Department, was securing the freedom of the Training Colleges from external examinations. In 1901 the Department issued a Minute (No. 329) giving the Colleges complete liberty to draw up their own courses of education and training, and to conduct all the necessary examinations of their students during and at the end of their course of training. Since then the training authorities in Scotland have enjoyed complete exemption from Government examinations, and from prescription of the courses to be given by them. Having satisfied itself by frequent inspection that the approved courses are being efficiently carried out and that the standard of the examinations is adequate, the Education Department accepts, almost without exception, the proposals of the training authorities as to the granting or withholding of the Government Certificate in the case of each leaving student. Circular 329 has proved a veritable charter of freedom to the Training Colleges, and its beneficial effects on the quality of the work done in them can hardly be exaggerated. Certainly few in Scotland would suggest a return to the rigid curriculum and the old oppressive Government examination system.

But in spite of all these advantages there still remained serious defects in the training system which could only be remedied by drastic reorganisation. The Education Act of 1872 nationalised the schools but left the training of teachers under Church management, which was proving inadequate for the task. The accommodation of the Colleges was not sufficient for training the number of teachers required for the national needs, and every year hundreds of posts had to be filled by untrained and generally poorly qualified teachers, and no provision whatever was being made for training teachers of secondary school subjects or of special subjects such as Art, Manual Training, etc. The Pupil

Teacher system, too, was impairing the early education of teachers, and thereby diminishing the efficiency of their later professional training.

To remedy these defects and others, and place the training of teachers on a national basis, the Scottish Education Department in January 1905 issued a Minute dividing the country into four districts to be called Provinces, with the University towns of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St Andrews as their respective centres. The training of teachers in each Province was put under a Provincial Committee of about forty members, consisting of representatives of the Universities in whose district the Training Centre lay, of the Colleges of Science, Art, Agriculture, and Cookery in the Province, of the managers and teachers of the primary and secondary schools in the Province, and of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church¹ on their handing over their Colleges to the management of the new Committee. The functions and powers of the four Provincial Committees were laid down in Regulations for the Training of Teachers issued by the Education Department in 1906. Some of the chief reforms introduced by these Regulations were that the Pupil Teachers were replaced by Junior Students who were to receive for three years, from about 15 to 18 years of age, practically a secondary education combined with a certain amount of training in the art of teaching; provision was made for the training of secondary teachers—who had to be University graduates with honours in their subject—and of teachers of special subjects; and all uncertificated teachers had to undergo training before 31st December 1914, after which date their provisional recognition as teachers was to be withdrawn.

¹ The United Free Church of Scotland was formed by the union in 1900 of the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church.

The passing of the Education (Scotland) Act in 1918 rendered a further change in the training system necessary. The School Boards, which were till then responsible for the administration of education in Scotland, had borne no part of the cost of training teachers, and they did not even contribute to the maintenance of the students-in-training from their districts. The burgh and county Education Authorities constituted by the 1918 Act did both of these things, and in virtue of this financial responsibility it was necessary that they should have a controlling say in the management of the Training Colleges. Hence a Minute was issued in 1920¹ by the Education Department, handing over the administration of the training system to a National Committee composed entirely of representatives of the new Education Authorities. The Provincial Committees at the same time were reorganised and were relieved of all financial responsibility, but had delegated to them the management of the four Training Centres already mentioned. The National Committee is a large body of nearly fifty members, and it meets as a rule only once a year. It acts through a small and active Central Executive, to which the Educational Institute—the official organisation of teachers in Scotland—sends two representatives. The Episcopal and Roman Catholic Training Colleges have been transferred by agreement to the National Committee, so that all the Training Colleges in Scotland are under the control of the Committee. Thus there has been evolved in Scotland a truly national system through which teachers of every kind and grade are trained, and by which the influence of the Universities can reach every school in the land.

It only remains to mention the most recent improvements in training introduced by revised Regulations issued by the

¹ *Command 553*, H.M. Stationery Office (1d., by post 2d.)

Education Department in 1924. They mark the passing of the Junior Student system, which according to them was to cease in 1926. That system was necessary at first, perhaps, to guarantee an adequate supply of teachers when Pupil Teachership was no longer available for that purpose, but it contained serious defects. For one thing, the course of study prescribed for it was an impossible one, requiring the Junior Student to study the four or five subjects necessary for the Leaving Certificate, and in addition to devote a considerable amount of time to subjects necessary for school teachers, such as history, nature study, drawing, music, physical exercises, and to teaching practice. On the successful completion of such a course the embryo teacher was awarded the Junior Student Certificate. A system so overburdened was bound to break down, and the wonder is it continued so long. Moreover, segregation for any profession at the age of 15 is undesirable. The best thing at that stage is to get a generous education alongside those preparing for other walks in life. The special training will come soon enough after the foundations of a liberal education have been laid. According to the new Regulations, pupils in secondary schools of about the age of 15, who are considered suitable for teaching, are selected by the Education Authorities, and, if approved by the Department, they continue their school studies for three more years for the Leaving Certificate, and at the same time get some preliminary training in teaching primary school subjects, although this part may be postponed till they have gained the Leaving Certificate. A further point is that the selected candidates do not require to make up their minds to be teachers at the early age of 15, as the Junior Student had to do. They may postpone the decision till they get the Leaving Certificate, but the one thing they must not do if they wish to be teachers is to fail to get that Certificate.

Having safely surmounted this barrier, the future teacher, if a male, is no longer allowed to enter upon training until he has fulfilled the next condition, namely, taken a University degree. Scotland has been moving steadily in this direction since the days of the parish dominie, and the rising educational demands on the schools fully warrant the important step taken in 1924. Some consider it unfortunate that it was not possible to demand graduation from women candidates too, but considerations of supply made that step impossible, though the time for it may come. Meanwhile, it is something to have secured a sound secondary education for all teachers up to the Leaving Certificate standard before they enter upon training. Women candidates who have not undergone a course of preliminary training in teaching while at the secondary school must graduate like the men before being allowed to take their training. If they have had the preliminary training they have the option of proceeding straight to the University or of taking a two, three, or four years' course at a Training College—in the last two cases generally with concurrent attendance at University classes.

These remarks apply to those preparing for "The Teacher's General Certificate"—a certificate of qualification to teach only primary school subjects. They form the great body of the teaching force of the country. In addition to them students who have graduated in a subject with First or Second Class Honours in a University are trained for one year for "The Teacher's Special Certificate" which qualifies them to teach the subject in a secondary school. Finally, students of technical subjects who hold a recognised Diploma in such subjects as Art, Educational Handwork, Domestic Science, Music, Physical Training, Agriculture, undergo a training of generally not less than a year for "The Teacher's Technical Certificate," qualifying them to teach their special subject in any grant-earning school.

Such in outline is the present position of the training of teachers in Scotland. The details may be learned from the Department's *Regulations for the Preliminary Education, Training and Certification of Teachers for various Grades of Schools (Scotland)*.¹ From what has been said it will be seen that the general education of teachers in Scotland has been raised to a high level, all the men and a large and increasing proportion of the women now entering upon teaching in primary schools being graduates, and all holders of the Teacher's Special Certificate being honours graduates. Untrained or uncertificated teachers are hardly known. The problem now is to raise the professional part of the training to a University level, as in the other learned professions such as Law, Divinity, and Medicine. Steady progress in that direction is being made. The Universities now take a considerable share in the management of the Training Colleges, and in 1925 the Professors of Education in two of the Universities—Edinburgh and St Andrews—were appointed Heads of the Training Colleges in their centres. It may be that this movement will spread until the Training Colleges in Scotland become to all intents and purposes parts of Faculties of Education in the Universities, and play a part similar to the professional schools of the other Faculties.

On the satisfactory completion of their training, students get a Probation Certificate from the Education Department, and only after serving a probationary period of two years and obtaining during that time satisfactory reports from H.M. Inspector, do they receive their final Certificate of one or other of the three classes mentioned above. Only "schools approved for that purpose"² can employ probationers, in

¹ *Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1924, No. 791/S.61, *Education Scotland*. Published by H.M. Stationery Office. (Price 8d. net ; by post 9d.)

² Article 49 of the *Regulations for the Training of Teachers (Scotland)*.

order that the latter at the outset of their professional career may get the maximum of help and guidance from experienced and skilful teachers. All teachers are appointed and paid by the Education Authority or other Managers of their school. The same bodies also have the power of dismissal, subject to the teacher's right of appeal to the Department under Section 24 of the 1918 Education Act (see p. 195).

Under the powers of the same Act the Department laid down in 1919 Minimum National Scales of Salaries¹ for teachers of the various kinds, and all Education Authorities are required by the Act to submit for the approval of the Department salary schemes which cannot be lower than the Minimum National Scales, and which in many cases are in excess of the prescribed minima. The Minimum National Scale for non-graduate teachers holding the Teacher's General Certificate depends upon the length of training, but the lowest in the case of men is £150 rising by £10 per annum to £250; and for women £130 rising by £5 per annum to £150, and thereafter by £10 to £200. The Minimum National Scale for graduate teachers in the case of men is £200 rising by £10 to £300, and thereafter by £15 to £360; in the case of women £180 rising by £10 to £300. The Minimum National Scale for holders of the Teacher's Special Certificate in the case of men is £250 rising by £10 to £310, and thereafter by £15 to £400; in the case of women £200 rising by £10 to £350.

All Teachers' Certificates expire when their holders reach 65 years of age. In the Education Act of 1908 provision was made for the superannuation of teachers on the basis of certain contributions being paid by the teachers and the School Boards, and this was supplemented by payments from

¹ *Conditions as to Minimum National Scales of Salaries for Teachers* (H.M. Stationery Office. Price 2d. ; by post 2½d.)

the Education (Scotland) Fund. Since then the conditions of superannuation have been modified by subsequent Acts.¹ In rough outline the scheme in operation is as follows:—

Teachers have the option of retiring with a pension anytime between 60 and 65 years of age, and if their health fails at an earlier period they may be granted disablement gratuities. The superannuation awarded consists of (1) a lump sum, (2) an annual pension. The mode of calculation is that for the lump sum one-thirtieth of the salary is allowed for each year of service up to a maximum of 45 years, and the annual pension consists of one-eightieth of the salary for each year of service up to a maximum of 40 years. In both cases the salary on which the calculation is based is the average salary received during the last five years of service. The superannuation scheme at present in force is a contributory one—the teachers paying each year 5 per cent. of their salaries, and the Managers 5 per cent. of their teachers' salaries.

Such in outline is the present position with regard to teachers in Scotland. The conditions will no doubt undergo modification, but they are not unworthy of the educational traditions of Scotland. Teachers have to train the children to play their part as citizens worthily in a complex and rapidly developing society, and for such a task we cannot equip them too well, or hold their function in the life of the nation in too high esteem.

¹ See *Education (Scotland) Superannuation Acts*, 1919, 1922, 1924, 1925; *Superannuation Scheme for Teachers (Scotland)*, 1926; *Teachers' Superannuation Rules (Scotland)*, 1926.

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